

Senator Seward's Western Tour.

S P E E C H

BY

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

AT

CHICAGO, OCTOBER 3, 1860.

Hail to the State of Illinois! whose iron roads form the spinal column of that system of internal continental trade which surpasses all the foreign commerce of the country, and has no parallel or imitation in any other country on the face of the globe.

Hail Chicago! the heart which supplies life to this great system of rail roads—Chicago, the last and most wonderful of all the marvellous creations of civilization in North America.

Hail to this council chamber of the great Republican party! justly adapted by its vastness and its simplicity to its great purposes—the hall where the representatives of freemen framed that creed of Republican faith, which carries healing for the relief of a disordered nation. Woe! woe! be to him who shall add to or shall subtract one word from that simple, sublime, truthful, beneficent creed.

Hail to the Representatives of the Republican party, chosen here by the Republicans of the United States, and placed upon the platform of that creed. Happy shall he be who shall give them his suffrage. If he be an old man, he shall show the virtue of wisdom acquired by experience; if he be a young man, he shall in all his coming years, tell his fellow men with pride, "I too voted for Abraham Lincoln." [Great applause.]

Fellow-citizens, that Republican creed is nevertheless no partisan creed. It is a National faith, because it is the embodiment of the one life-sustaining, life-expanding idea of the American republic. What is the idea more or less than simply this: That civilization is to be maintained and carried on upon this continent by Federal States, based upon the principles of free soil, free labor, free speech, equal rights and universal suffrage? [Loud applause.]

Fellow-citizens, this is no new idea. This idea

had its first utterance, and the boldest and clearest of all the utterances it has ever received, in the very few words that were spoken by this nation when it came before the world, took its place upon the stage of human action, and asserted its independence in the fear of God, and in full confidence of the approval of mankind; declared that henceforth it held those to be its enemies, who should oppose it in war, and those to be its friends who should maintain with it relations of peace. That utterance was expressed in these simple words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal, and have the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This great national idea has been working out its fruits ever since. Its work is seen in the perfect acceptance of it by eighteen of the thirty-four States of the Union—or seventeen of the thirty-three, if Kansas is to be considered out. It is asserting itself in the establishment of new States throughout the West, as it has revolutionized and is revolutionizing all of Western and Southern Europe. Why is this idea so effective? It is because it is the one chief living, burning, inextinguishable thought of human nature itself, entertained by man in every age and in every clime.

Fellow-citizens, this national idea works not unopposed. Every good and virtuous and benevolent principle in nature has its antagonist. And this great national idea works in perpetual opposition—I may be allowed to say in irrepressible conflict,—[Prolonged applause]—with an erroneous, a deceitful, a delusive idea. Do you ask what that delusive idea is? It is the idea that civilization ought and can be effected on this continent, by this form of federal States, based on the principle of slave labor—of African slave labor, of unequal rights and unequal representation, resulting in unequal suffrage.

[Here there was much tumult and confusion,

owing to efforts of those beyond the reach of his voice to hear, drowning the speaker's voice.]

Fellow-Citizens:—Can it be that this great creed of curs needs exposition or defence? It seems to me so evidently just and true that it requires no exposition and needs no defence. Certainly in foreign countries it needs none. In Scotland, or France, or Germany, or Russia, on the shores of the Mediterranean, in Europe, or in Asia, or in Africa, you will never find one human being who denies the truth and the justice of this national idea of the equality of man.

[Here the tumult became so great that the speaker was compelled to pause. Mr. Arnold coming forward, urged upon all to be as quiet as possible. Those who were out of reach of Mr. Seward's voice, and desired to hear other speakers, could do so at the various stands and at the Wigwam. He thought it must be very painful to the distinguished speaker to witness such a disturbance.]

Gov. Seward: Fellow-citizens—Do you suppose that this disturbance, which I know is involuntary on your part, gives me any pain whatever. [Applause.] There is no pressure here which an honest man need regret. I only regret that I have not voice enough to reach the whole of this vast assembly, or even the twentieth part of it. I will proceed, trusting that something I may say will reach the ears of most of the assemblage. As necessarily I must change my position as I speak to make you hear me, addressing first this side and then that, no one will, I fear, be able to preserve the connection of my remarks, except myself—and he is a very fortunate speaker who does that. [Laughter.]

I was speaking of this national idea—that it needs no exposition anywhere. It is one of those propositions that when addressed to thoughtful men needs no explanation or defence. And why not?

Here we can see for ourselves this mean and miserable rival of black African Slavery, stealing along turbid and muddy as it is drawn from its stagnant source in the Slave States; we see that it is pestilential in the atmosphere it passes through; we can see how inadequate it is and unfit to irrigate a whole continent with the living waters of health and life; we can see how it is that everything within its sphere withers and droops; while on the other hand, we can also see this broad flood of free labor as it descends the mountain sides in torrents, and is gathered in rivulets, increasing in volume and power, and to spread itself abroad. We can well see by the effects it has already produced, how it irrigates and must continue to irrigate this whole continent; how every good and virtuous plant lives and breathes by its support. We see the magical fertility which results from its presence, because it is around us and before us.

We sometimes, fellow-citizens, hear an argument for a political proposition made in this form: One offers to "take a thing to be done by the job." Let us imagine for a moment that there could be one man bold enough, great enough, and wise enough to take "by the job" the work of establishing civilization over this broad continent of North America. He would, of course, want to do it in the shortest time, at the cheapest expense, and in the best manner. Now, would such a man ever dream of im-

porting African barbarians; or of taking their children or descendants in this country to build up and people great Free States all over this land, from the Alleghany Mountains to the Pacific Ocean? Would he not, on the contrary, accept, as the rightful, natural, beautiful, and best possible agency which he could select, the free labor of free men, the minds, the thoughts, the wills, the purposes, the ambitions of enlightened freemen, such as we claim ourselves to be? would he not receive all who claimed to aid in such services as these whether they were born on this soil, or cradled in foreign lands?

I care not, fellow-citizens, when reckless men say in the heat of debate, or under the influence of interest, passion or prejudice, that it is a matter of indifference whether Slavery shall pervade the whole land, or a part of the land, and freedom the residue—that Freedom and Slavery may take their chances—that they "don't care whether Slavery is voted up or down." There is no man who has an enlightened conscience who is indifferent on the subject of human bondage. [Applause.] There is no man who is enlightened and honest, who would not abate some considerable part of his worldly wealth, if he could thereby convert this land from a land cursed in whole or in part with Slavery, into a land of equal and impartial liberty; [cheers] and I will tell you how I know this: I know it, because every man demands freedom for himself, and refuses to be a slave. No free man, who is a man, would consent to be a slave; every slave who has any manhood in him, desires to be free; no man who has an unperverted reason does not lament, condemn and deplore the practice of commerce in man. The executioner is always odious, even though his task is necessary to the administration of justice. We turn with horror and disgust from him who wields the axe. So the slaveholder turns with disgust from the auctioneer who sells the man and woman whom he has reared and held in Slavery, although he receives the profits of the sale into his own coffers.

I know this national idea of ours is just and right for another reason; it is that in the whole history of society, human nature has never, never honored one man who reduced another man to bondage. The world is full of monuments in honor of men who have delivered their fellow men from slavery.

Since this idea is self evidently just, and is of itself pure, peaceable, easy to be entreated and full of good works, will you tell me why it is that it has not been fully accepted by the American people? Alas! that it should be so. Perhaps I can throw light on that by asking another question: Is not Christianity pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, and full of good works? and yet is not the church of Jesus Christ still a church militant? Alas! that it should be so. Christianity explains for herself how it is that she is rejected of men. She says it is because man love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. I shall not say this in regard to the subject of freedom. I know better; I know that my countrymen love light—not darkness. They are even in the state and disposition of the Roman Governor, "almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," and almost the American people are persuaded to be Republican. [Cheers and laughter.] Why, then

are they not *altogether* persuaded? The answer cannot be given without some reflection. It involves an examination of our national conduct and life.

The reason why the country is only almost and not altogether persuaded to be Republican, is because the national sense and judgment have been perverted. We inherited Slavery; it is organized into our national life—into our forms of government. It exists among us, unsuspected in its evils, because we have become accustomed, out of national habit, to enduring and tolerating Slavery. The effect of this habit arising from the presence of Slavery, is to produce a want of moral courage among the people and an indisposition to entertain and examine the subject. It is not, however, the fault of the people. This lack of moral courage is chiefly the fault of the political representatives of the people. In every district in the United States, and for every seat in Congress, the people might select men apparently as brave, as truthful, as fearless and as firm as Owen Lovejoy. [Applause.]

You may fill the halls of Congress with men from all the Free States who seem to be as reliable as Owen Lovejoy; but on the clangor of the slavery bugle in the hall they begin to waver and fail. They retire. They suffer themselves to be demoralized; and they return to demoralize the people. Slavery never hesitates to raise the clangor of the trumpets to terrify the timid.

Slavery has, too, another argument for the timid than terror; it is power. The concentration of Slavery gives it a fearful political power. You know how long it has been the controlling power in the Executive Department of the Government. Slavery uses that power, as might be expected—to punish those who oppose it, to reward those who serve it. All representatives are naturally ambitious; all representatives like fame; if they do not like pecuniary rewards, they like the distinctions of place. They like to be popular. When the people are demoralized, he who is constant becomes offensive and obnoxious; he loses position and the party chooses some other representative who will be less obnoxious. These demoralized representatives inculcate among the people pernicious lessons and sustain themselves by adopting compromises. They compromise so far, if possible, as to save place and a show of principle; they save themselves first, and let freedom take what remains.

A community thus demoralized by its representatives is fearful of considering the subject of Slavery at all. It does not like to look back upon its record; it does not dare to look forward to see what are to be the consequences of errors. It desires peace and quiet. We shall see in a moment what fearful sacrifices have been made under the influence of this demoralization of the power of the government.

The first act of demoralization was to surrender the Territory of Arkansas and the Territory of Missouri to slavery, and also by implication all the rest of the Territory of Louisiana acquired by purchase from France, that lay south of thirty six degrees thirty minutes north latitude. Take up your maps when you go home, and see what a broad belt of country, lying south of that line, was surrendered, with the States of Missouri and Arkansas, to Slavery. Next, under the influence of this same demoralization, the whole of the peninsula of Florida,

acquired from Spain, was surrendered to Slavery, rendering it practically useless for all the national purposes for which it was acquired, making it a burthen instead of a blessing a danger instead of a national safe-guard in the Gulf of Mexico.

Then Texas was surrendered to Slavery and brought in with the gratuitous agreement that four slave States should be made out of that Territory. Next, in 1850, Utah and New Mexico were abandoned to Slavery. After these events, following in quick succession, came the abrogation, in the year 1854, of the restriction contained in the Missouri Compromise, by which it had been stipulated that all north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, excepting the State of Missouri, should be dedicated to freedom. That was abandoned to Slavery to take it if she could get it; and the administration of the government of the United States, with scarcely a protest from the people, went on to favor its occupancy by Slavery. As a legitimate consequence came the refusal, on the part of the national government—for it was a practical refusal—to admit Kansas into the Union because she would would not accept Slavery.

After this demoralization had been carried out in these measures, what right had the nation to be surprised when the President and the Supreme Court at last pronounced that which in no previous year either of them would have dared to assert—that this Constitution of ours is not a Constitution of Liberty, but that it is a Constitution of human bondage; that Slavery is the normal condition of the American people on each acre of the domain of the United States not organized into States—that is to say, that wherever this banner of ours, this star spangled banner, whose glories we celebrate so highly—wherever that banner floats over a national ship or a national Territory, there is a land, not of freedom, but of Slavery!

Hence it has followed, that the nation up to 1854 surrendered all the unoccupied portions of this continent to Slavery, and thereby practically excluded freemen—because experience shows that when you have made a slave Territory, freedom avoids it; just as much as when you make a free State, like Kansas, Slavery disappears from it.

I have said that the country was demoralized by its political representatives; but these political representatives have their agents. All men necessarily fall into some political party, and into some political parties and religious sects. To gain office in a political party and share its favors, when the nation was demoralized, it became necessary that the candidate should be tolerant of Slavery. So religious sects were ambitious to extend their ecclesiastical sway. The consequence was that year by year Slavery had party upon party; Slavery had religious sect upon religious sect; church after church. But alas! until the dawn of that year, freedom had no party and no religious sect throughout this whole country.

A people who are demoralized are easily operated upon; they are easily kept persistently in the same erroneous habit which has demoralized them. The first agency for continuing to extend the power of Slavery upon this continent, is that of alarm. Fears of all kinds are awakened in the public mind. The chief of them is the fear

of turbulence, of disorder, of civil commotions, and of civil war. The slaveholders in the Slave States very justly, and truthfully, and rightfully assume that slaves are the natural enemies of their masters; and, of course, that slaves are insidious enemies of the State which holds them, or requires them to be held in bondage; that insidious enemies are dangerous; and, therefore, in every Slave State that has ever been founded in this country, a policy is established which suppresses freedom of speech and freedom of debate, so far as liberty needs advocates, while it extends the largest license of debate to those who advocate the interests of Slavery. This lack of freedom of speech and freedom of debate is followed in Slave States by the necessary consequence, that there is no freedom of suffrage. So that at the last Presidential election—the first when this question was ever distinctly brought before the American people—there were no Slave States in which a ballot-box was open for freedom, or where free men might cast their ballots with safety. If one side only is allowed to vote in a State, it is very easy to see that that side must prevail. [Laughter and applause.]

If the condition of civil society is such that voting is not to be done safely, few men will vote. Every man who wishes to express his choice is not expected to be a martyr. The world produces but few men willing to be martyrs, my friends, and I am sorry to say they have not been very numerous in our day. Nearly one-half of the United States, then—that is, all the Slave States, are at once to be arrayed on the side of Slavery; and behold them! they tell us that Republicanism, which invites them to discuss the subject, is sectional, and they are national. But the Slave States are not willing to rest content with this exclusion of all freedom of suffrage, of speech and of debate on the subject of Slavery within their own jurisdiction, but they require the free States to accept the same system for themselves. They insist that although they may be able at home to keep down their slaves, if we will be quiet, yet they cannot tolerate a discussion of Slavery in the free States, as we thereby encourage the slaves in the Slave States to insurrection and sedition. This argument might fail to reach and convince us, inasmuch as we, ourselves, are safe from any danger of insurrection in the Slave States.

But they bring it home to our fears by declaring that their peace is of more importance than the interest of the nation; that they prefer Slavery even to Union; that if we will not acquiesce in allowing them to maintain, fortify and extend Slavery on equal terms, then they will dissolve the Union, and we will all go down together, or we will all suffer a common desolation. There are few men—and there ought to be few—who would be so intent on the subject of establishing Freedom that they would consent to a subversion of the Union to produce it, because the Union is a positive benefit, nay, an absolute necessity, and to save the Union, men may naturally dare to delay. Most men, therefore, very cheerfully prefer to let the subject of Slavery rest for some better time—for some better occasion—for some more fortunate circumstances, and they are content to keep the Union with Slavery if it cannot be kept otherwise.

You see how this has worked in demoralizing the American people. Less than thirty years

ago the Governor of Massachusetts—that first and freest of the States—actually recommended the Legislature to pass laws which would declare that the meetings of citizens held to discuss the subject of Slavery should be deemed seditious, and should be dissolved by the police! The Governor of the State of New York, who preceded me in that high office, during his administration, and within your own lifetime and mine, actually made the same recommendation to the Legislature of that State. What was recommended, but not carried out in those States by law, became a custom and practice; for, as you know, when the laws did not dissolve the public assembly, there was a period of near twenty years in which no public meeting of men opposed to the extension or aggrandizement of Slavery, could be held without being dispersed by the mob, acting in concert with the general opinion of the country.

When the people of the Free States were thus demoralized, what wonder is it, that for twelve years all debates on the subject of slavery or the presentation of the subject by the people even in the form of a petition, was repressed and trampled under foot, and remained there until John Quincy Adams at last rallied a party around him, strong enough to restore freedom of debate in the House of Representatives! What wonder is it that within the last year, in the very face of the organization, and the onward march of the Republican party, the administration of the Federal Government has actually, by its officers, appointed in compliance with the dictation of the slaveholders, abandoned the Federal mails to the inspection and surveillance of the magistrates of the slave States; so that they may abstract and commit to the flames every word that any man may speak, however eloquent, able, truthful or moderate, in the Halls of Congress against slavery and in favor of freedom.

This, fellow citizens, is your Government. This is the condition in which you are placed, I am sorry to say—but I like to be truthful—that I have no especial compliments for you of the State of Illinois, on this subject; for in this long catalogue of extraordinary concessions to slavery, under the necessity of fear, I think the very first protest that ever came from the State of Illinois was as late as the year 1855; after all these atrocious concessions had been made, and we were brought to the necessity of going back and undoing mischief that had been done. You sent two Senators to Congress; you insisted upon extending the Wilmot Proviso over the territory acquired from Spain. How did they do it? They voted for the Wilmot Proviso under your instructions, and they voted against it without instructions when it came to the practical test. I think you made no protest until Mr. Douglas demanded one single and last concession "for the purpose," as he said, "of excluding the whole subject from Congress." That was the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, containing the restrictions for the protection of freedom in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Then you sent a noble representative to the Senate in the person of Judge Trumbull. [Loud and prolonged applause.]

A voice—"We'll send him again."

Yes, send him again.

"We will;" "we will."

I marvelled when I rose here before you to

day and saw this immense assemblage, which no edifice but only the streets of Chicago could hold. [Cheers and laughter], and I wondered how it would have been had I come here in 1850, or even down at any later day before the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise.

But, fellow-citizens, let by-gones be by-gones. I have seen the time when I had as little courage and as little resolution on this subject as most of you. [Laughter.] I was born into the demoralization—I was born a slaveholder, and have some excuse, which you have not. All these things were done, not because you loved slavery, but because you loved the Union.

When slavery became identical in the public mind with the Union, how natural it was, even for patriotic men, to approve of, or to at least excuse and tolerate slavery. How odious did it become for men to be Free-soilers and be regarded as Abolitionists, when to be an Abolitionist was, in the estimation of mankind, to be a traitor to one's country. How naturally was it then to believe that slavery after all might not be so very bad, and to believe that it might be necessary and might be right at some time, or on some occasion which times and occasions were always a good way off from themselves; especially, how natural was it, when the whole Christian Church, with all its sects, bent itself to the support of the Union, mistaking the claim of slavery for the cause of the Union.

How extensive this proscription for the sake and in the name of Union, has been and is to this day, you will see at once when I tell you that there is not in this whole Republic, from one end of it to the other, a man who maintains that slavery shall not be extended, who can secure, at the hands of his country, any part in the administration of its government from a tide-waiter in the Custom House, or a Postmaster in a rural district, to a Secretary of State, a Minister in a foreign court, or a President of the United States. How could you expect that a people, every one of whom is born with a possible chance, and a fair expectation of being something—perhaps President of the United States—could resist the demoralization prosecuted by such means? And when it becomes a heresy, for which a man is deprived of position in an ecclesiastical sect to which he belongs, how could you expect that the members of the Christian churches would be bold enough to provoke the censure of the Christian world? Above all, our Constitution intended to give us our frame of government, as we have always supposed, was so established, that it did give us a judiciary which cannot err, which must be infallible, and must not be disputed; and when the Judicial authority, which has the army and the navy, through the direction of the Executive power, to execute its judgments and decrees, pronounces that every appeal made for freedom is seditious, that every syllable in defense of liberty is treason, and the natural sympathy we feel for the oppressed is to be punished as a crime; while that body is unwilling, or at least unable to bring to punishment one single culprit out of the thousand of pirates who bring away slaves from Africa to sell in foreign lands—how could you expect a simple agricultural people such as we are, to be so much wiser and better than our Presidents and Vice-Presidents, Sena-

tors and Representatives in Congress, and even our Judges?

I have brought you down, fellow citizens, to the time when this demoralization was almost complete. How assured its ultimate success seemed, after the compromise of 1850, you will learn from a fact which I have never before mentioned, but which I will now: Horace Mann, one of the noblest champions of freedom on this continent, confessed to me, after the passage of the slavery laws of that year, that he despaired of the cause of humanity. In 1854, after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, without producing so much alarm as a considerable thunder storm would do in the nation, there was only one man left who hoped against the prevailing demoralization and who cheered and sustained me through it; and that man, in his zeal to make his prediction just, was afterwards betrayed so far by his zeal that he became ultimately a monomaniac and suffered on the gallows. That was John Brown. [Sensation.] The first and only time I ever saw him was when he called upon me after the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, and asked me what I thought of the future. I said I was saddened and disappointed. I would persevere, but it was against hope. He said, "Cheer up, Governor; the people of Kansas will not accept slavery; Kansas will never be a slave State." [Great applause.]

I took then a deliberate survey of the broad field; I considered all; I examined and considered all the political forces which were revealed to my observation. I saw that freedom in the future States of this continent was the necessity of this age, and of this country. I saw that the establishment of this as a Republic, conservative of the rights of human nature, was the cause of the whole world; and I saw that the time had come when men, and women, and children were departing from their homes in the eastern States, and were followed or attended by men, women and children from the European nations—all of them crowded out by the press of population upon subsistence in the older parts of the world, and all making their way up the Hudson River, through the Erie Canal, along the railroads, by the way of the Lakes, spreading themselves in a mighty flood, over Michigan, Iowa, Indiana, and Illinois, and even to the banks of the Mississippi. I knew that these emigrants were planting a town every day, and a State every three years, heedless and unconcerned as they were, thinking only of provision for their immediate wants, shelter and lands to till in the West—I knew of interest they would have when they should get here, and that was, that they should own the land themselves. [Cries of "good, good," and applause.]—that slaves should not come into competition with them here. [Renewed applause.]

So, as they passed by me, steamboat load after steamboat load, and railroad train after railroad train, though they were the humblest and perhaps the least educated and least trained portion of the communities from which they had come, I knew that they had the instinct of interest, and below, and deeper than that, the better instinct of justice. [Applause.] And I said, I will trust these men; I will trust these exiles; my faith and reliance henceforth is on the poor, not on the rich; on the humble, not on the great. [Applause.] Aye, and sad it was to confess, but

it was so. I said, henceforth I put my trust not in my native countrymen, but I put it in the exile from foreign lands. He has an abhorrence for, and he has never been accustomed to, slavery by habit. Here he will stay and retain these Territories free. [Applause.]

I was even painfully disappointed at first, in seeing that the emigrants to the West, had no more consciousness of their interest in this question, when they arrived here, than they had in their native countries. The Irishman who had struggled against oppression in his own country, failed me; the German seemed at first, but, thank God, not long, dull, and unconscious of the duty that devolved upon him. This is true; but nevertheless, I said that the interest and instincts of these people would ultimately bring them out, and when the States which they plant and rear and fortify shall apply for admission into the Federal Union, they will come in as slave States but as free States. [Applause.] I looked one step farther. I saw how we could redeem all that had been lost; and redeem it, too, by appealing to the very passions and interests that had lost all. [Hear! Hear!]

The process was easy. The slave States of the South had demoralized the free States of the North by giving them presidencies, secretarieships, foreign missions and post offices. And now, here in the Northwest, we will build up more free States than there are slave States.—Those free States having a common interest in favor of freedom, equal to that of the Southern slave States in favor of slavery, will offer to Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Jersey, objects worthy their ambition. [Applause.] And to-day, I see the very realization of it all. I can give you advocates for freedom in the Northern States, as bold, as out-spoken, as brave, and as confident of the durability of the Union, as you can find for slavery in the Southern States. Aye, and when the Southern States demoralize the free States by saying they will give their trade and traffic, buy their silks and their linens, and other trumpery, provided they can buy their principles in the sale and the bargain must be struck, I said, there shall be, in those new free States in the Northwest, men who will say, we will buy your silks and linens, and your trumpery of every sort, we will even buy more, and pay you quite as well, provided you do not betray your principles. [Applause.]

All this was simply restoring the balance of the Republican system, bringing in a counter force in favor of freedom to counteract the established political agencies of slavery. You have heard that I have said that the last Democrat is born in this nation. [Laughter and applause.] I say so, however, with the qualification before used, that by Democrat I mean one who will maintain the Democratic principles which constitute the present creed of the Democratic party ["Hear, hear; we understand it!"]; and for the reason, a very simple one, that slavery cannot pay any longer, and the Democrat does not work for anybody who does not pay. [Great applause.] I propose to pay all kinds of patriots, hereafter, just as they come. I propose to pay them fair consideration if they will only be true to freedom. I propose to gratify all their aspirations for wealth, as much as the slave states can.

But, fellow citizens, we had no party for this principle. There was the trouble. Democracy was the natural ally of slavery in the South. We were either whigs, or if you please, Americans, some of us, and thank God I never was one—in the limited sense of the term. [Cries of "good," "good," and applause.] But the Whig party, or the American party, if not equally an ally of the Slave party, in the South, was, at least, a treacherous and unreliable party for the interests of freedom. [That's so.] Only one thing was wanting, that was, to dislodge from the Democratic party, the Whig party, and the Native American party, men enough to constitute a Republican party—the party of Freedom. [Applause.]

And for that we are indebted to the kindness, unintentional, no doubt, of your distinguished Senator, now a candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Douglas—[laughter] who in procuring the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, so shattered the columns of these parties, as to disintegrate them, and instantly there was the material, the preparation, for the onslaught.

Still there was wanted an occasion; and that occasion was given, when, in an hour of madness, the Democratic party and Administration, with the sympathy, or at least the acquiescence, of the Old Line Whigs and the Native Americans, refused to allow the State of Kansas to exercise the perfect freedom in choosing between liberty and slavery, which they had promised to her, except she should exercise it in slavery. Then came the hour. We had then, fellow-citizens, the material for a party; we had the occasion for a party, and the Republican party sprang into existence at once, full armed. I will never knowingly do evil that good may come of it; I will never even wish that others may do evil that good may come of it; and for the same reason that I know the evil to be certain, and the good only possible or problematical. But no man ever rejoiced more heartily over the birth of his first born than I did when I saw the folly and madness of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the rejection of Kansas. [Applause.] These acts, I said to myself, are the doings of Presidents, of Senators, of Judges, of Priests and of Deacons; and when the Republican party organized itself. I said now is the work complete. [Good! Good!]

How much I have been cheered in this long contest, by seeing that only stolen, surreptitious advantages were gained by slavery in the form of rescripts and edicts, and laws on the statute book; while the cause of freedom brought in first, California; next, New Mexico, with her constitution claiming freedom; next, Kansas; next, Minnesota, and next Oregon; you may all know, if you possibly remember, the song of joy, not so poetic, but as full of truth and happiness, as the song of Miriam, which I then uttered, declaring that that was the end, and the victory was won. [Loud applause.] The battle is ended and the victory is ours. Why then, say they, why not withdraw from the field? For the simple reason that if the victor retire from the field, the vanquished will then come back, and the battle will not be won. Why should the victor withdraw, and surrender all his conquests to the conquered enemy? Why should he place the enemy back upon the field, and withdraw his legions into the far distance, to

give him a chance to re-establish the line that has been broken up?

The Republican party will now complete this great revolution. I know it will, because, in the first place, it clearly perceives its duties. It is unanimous upon this subject. We have had hesitation heretofore, but the creed to which I have already adverted, which issued from that Council Chamber now before me, announced the true determination, and embodies that great, living, national idea of Freedom, with which I began. I know that the Republican party will do it, because it finds the necessary forces in all the free States adequate, I trust, to achieve success, and has forces in reserve, and increasing in every slave State in the Union, and only waiting until the success of the Republican party in the free States will be such as to warrant protection to debate, and free suffrage in the slave States. [Applause.] But, above all, I know it, because the Republican party has, what is necessary in every revolution, chosen the right line of policy. It is the policy of peace and moral suasion; of freedom and suffrage; the policy, not of force, but of reason. [Applause.] It returns kindness for unkindness; fervently increased loyalty for demonstrations of disloyalty; patience as becomes the strong, in contention with the weak. [Applause.]

It leaves the subject of slavery in the slave States to the care and responsibility of the slave States alone—(loud cheers)—abiding by the constitution of the country, which makes the slave States on this subject sovereign; and, trusting that the end cannot be wrong, provided that it shall confine itself within its legitimate line of duty, thereby making Freedom paramount in the Federal Government, and making it the interest of every American citizen to sustain it as such. I know that the Republican party will succeed in this, because it is a positive and an active party. It is the only party in the country that is or can be positive in its action. You have three other parties, or forms of parties, but each of them without the characteristics of a party. You are to choose. The citizen is to choose between the Republican party and one of these.

Try them now by their candidates. Mr. Lincoln represents the Republican party. [Hearty applause.] He represents a party which has determined that not one more slave shall be imported from Africa, or transferred from any slave State, domestic or foreign, and placed upon the common soil of the United States. [Cheers.] If you elect him, you know, and the world knows, what you have got. Take the case of Mr. John Bell, an honorable man; a kind man, and a very learned man, a very patriotic man; a man whom I respect, and in social intercourse quite as much as everywhere else, as here where my word may be regarded as simply complimentary; but what does Mr. John Bell, and his Constitutional Union—what is the name of his party? Constitutional Union, is it not? [Laughter.] What does Mr. Bell and his Constitutional Union party propose on this question? He proposes to ignore it altogether; not to know that there is such a question. If we can suppose such a thing possible as Mr. Bell's election by the people, what then? He ignored the question until the day of election came, but it will not stay ignored. Kansas comes and asks or de-

mands to be admitted into the Union. The Indian Territory, also, south of Kansas, must be vacated by the Indians, and here at once the slaveholders present the question as they will also do in the case of New Mexico. It will not stay ignored. It will not rest. It cannot rest. You have postponed the decision for four years, and that is all. Postponing does not settle it. When defending law suits, I have seen times when I thought I won a great advantage by getting an adjournment, [laughter], but I always found, nevertheless, that it was a great deal better to be beaten in the first instance, and try it again, than to hang my hopes upon an adjournment. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

Take the other; Mr. Breckinridge represents a party that proposes a policy the very opposite of ours. They propose to extend slavery and to use the Federal Government to do it. Let us suppose him elected. Will that satisfy the American people? [Cries of "No, no!"] Will that settle the question? [No, no!] That is only what Mr. Buchanan has already done. And if I should put a vote to this audience, I am sure I should get no vote of confidence in Mr. Buchanan. [No, no, no!] That is of course. But if I were to go into a Bell-and-Everett National Union party meeting, as vast as this, and ask for a vote of confidence in James Buchanan, they would say No, just as emphatically as you do. In the demonstration for Mr. Douglas, which is to be made here day after to-morrow—I shall not be here, and would not have the right to appear if I were—but any of you have the right, by their leave, and you ought not to do it without, to offer and put to vote a resolution of confidence in James Buchanan, and you would get precisely the same negative response that you get here, only a little louder. [Applause and laughter.] Then the people are not going to elect Mr. Breckinridge, because he proposes to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Buchanan, who is rejected. Grant, however, that owing to some misapprehension, or some strange combination, they may obtain all they hope, and indirectly, if not directly, make Mr. Breckinridge President. Suppose Mr. Breckinridge elected. Does that settle the question in favor of slavery? Then you have the combination, not only of the Republicans, and the Constitutional Union party, and the Douglas party to drive him out again, [Laughter,] but you have only postponed the question for four years more, under circumstances far more serious, possibly fatal.

You have now disposed of them all except the Douglas party. Mr. Douglas' party is not a positive party. It proposes just what the Bell party propose—to ignore the question in Congress. That is just what we find the people will not do, and will not be content to do under John Bell. Why should they like it better under Mr. Douglas? Mr. Douglas and his party say there is a better way. They don't want it ignored, but that it belongs to the Territories, and they can settle it better and more wisely than we can. What can they do? Have they settled it in their Territories in favor of slavery? Are you, the people of the free States, going to consent to that? If they were, why did they not consent to the proposition of the President, that the people of Kansas should be subjected to slavery under the Lecompton Constitution? Then, they said, that was the act of the people. But if the peo-

ple of the Territory should decide in favor of freedom, are the slave States going to acquiesce? No, because they have their candidates in the person of Mr. Breckinridge to continue the war until they shall regain the lost battle.

But Mr. Douglas's proposition may result in a different way. He says, if I understand him rightly, that it is immaterial to him, at least he has no right and does not propose to decide upon the question, whether they vote slavery up or down. [Laughter.] Then they will vote slavery up in some territories, and vote it down in some other territories. That, fellow citizens, will be Compromise; are you going to be satisfied with a new Compromise? You have tried them, and found that they are never kept. On the whole, you are very sorry that they were ever made.

But is a compromise that is brought about in that way, the irresponsible act of Squatter Sovereignty in the Territories, to satisfy the slave States? They have repudiated Mr. Douglas, the ablest man among them all; they have repudiated him altogether, because they will not be satisfied with a Squatter Sovereignty that gives any Territory whatever to the free States.

I have now demonstrated to you, I think, that the Republican party is the only positive party. But I can show it by another argument. The Republican party has one faith, one creed, one baptism, one candidate, and will have but one victory. The power of slavery has three creeds, three faiths, and is to have three victories. [Laughter.] They have openly confessed, or rather, the secret leaks out, through conversations and consultations, that they do not expect to get a single victory, any more than you expect they will. All their hope and endeavor is to defeat the Republican party, and take the chances for a share of the fruits to result from your defeat. [Applause.]

Suppose they should, by combinations and coalitions, secure the defeat of the Republican party, are you going to stay defeated. [Cries of no, no.] You have been defeated once, have you not? Can you not bear another defeat? [Yes, half a dozen of them.] You will not have to I am sure. [Laughter.] But I am supposing for the purpose of argument that we are defeated by a coalition. Did any one ever know a cause that was lost when it was defeated by a coalition? [No.] There was a coalition in Europe five years ago in which Hungary was defeated by the coalition of Austria with Russia; but Hungary has risen up again to-day, and the coalition is understood to be dissolved. [Applause.] There was a coalition two or three years later, in which Russia was defeated by the combination of France and England; but Russia is just as strong, just as steadily pressing on towards Constantinople to-day, as she has been every day from the time of the Czar Peter until now. And while she has abated nothing of her purposes, and nothing of hope, she has gained strength. So, all the efforts of the statesmen of both France and England are required to keep them from falling out with each other before the battle begins. There is no danger and not much disgrace in being beaten by coalitions; and there is no danger, because they are coalitions. The more the coalitions are necessary, the less are they effectual. One party is always stronger than two other parties, in a contest, un-

less the whole result is staked upon a single battle.

But, fellow citizens, the explanation of the whole matter is, that there is a time when the nation needs and will require and demand the settlement of subjects of contention. That time has come at last, which the parties in this country, both of the slaveholding states and of the free states, both the slaveholder and the free laboring man, will require an end—a settlement of the conflict. It must be repressed. The time has come to repress it. The people will have it repressed. They are not to be forever disputing upon old issues and controversies. New subjects for national action will come up. This controversy must be settled and ended. The Republican party is the agent, and its success will terminate the contest about slavery in the new states. Let this battle be decided in favor of freedom in the territories, and not one slave will ever be carried into the territories of the United States, and that will end the Irrepressible Conflict. [Great applause.]

And because it is necessary that it should be done, is exactly the reason why it *will* be done. It cannot be settled otherwise, because it involves a question of justice and of conscience. It is for us not merely a question of policy, but a question of moral right and duty. It is wrong, in our judgment, to perpetuate by our votes or to extend slavery.

It is a very different thing when the slaveholder proposes to extend slavery; for that is, with him, only a question of merchandise. Men, of whatever race or nation, in our estimation, are *men*, not merchandise. According to our faith, they all have a natural right to be men, but in the estimation of the other party, African slaves are not men, but merchandise. It is, therefore, nothing more or less with them than a tariff question; a question of protecting commerce. With us it is a question of human rights, and therefore, when it is settled, and settled in favor of the right, it will stay settled just as every question that is settled in favor of the right always does.

But if it be taken merely as a question of policy, it is equally plain that it will be settled in favor of the Republican side, because our highest policy is the development of the resources and the increase of the population, wealth and strength of the Republic. Every man sees for himself, and no man need be told that the coal, the iron, the lead, the copper, the silver and the gold in our mountains and plains are to be dug out by the human hand, and that the only hand that can dig them is the hand of a freeman. [Great applause.] Every man sees that this wealth, and strength and greatness are to be acquired by human labor, guided by human intelligence and human purpose. Every man knows that the slave, even if he be a white man, will have neither the strength nor the intelligence, nor the virtue to create wealth; for the slave has a simple line of interest before him—it is to effect the least and consume the most. [Hear, hear.]

But, fellow citizens, I seem to myself to have fallen below the dignity and greatness of this question, in discussing a proposition whether free labor or slave labor is more expedient, or more necessary. Let me rise once more, and remind you that we are building a new and great

empire; not building it, as modern Rome and Paris and Naples stand, upon the ruins and over the graves of tenfold greater multitudes of men than those who now occupy their sites; but upon a soil, where we are the first possessors, and the first architects. The tomb and the catacomb in Rome and Paris and Naples are filled with relics and implements of human torture and bondage, showing the ignorance and barbarity of their former occupants. Let us, on the other hand, build up an empire that shall leave no monument or relic among our graves, and no trace in our history, to prove that we were false to the great interests of humanity. Human nature is entitled to a home on this earth somewhere. Where else shall it be if it be not here? Human nature is

entitled, among all the nations of the earth, to have a nation that will truly represent, defend and vindicate it. What other nation shall it be, if it be not ours?

People of Illinois! People of the great West! You are all youthful, vigorous, generous. Your States are youthful, vigorous and virtuous. The destinies of our country, the hopes of mankind, the hopes of humanity rest upon you. Ascend, I pray! I conjure you! to the dignity of that high responsibility. Thus acting, you will have peace and harmony and happiness in your future years. The world, looking on, will applaud you and future generations in all ages and in all regions will rise up and call you blessed. [Long continued cheering.]

SPEECH AT LANSING, MICHIGAN.

THE

IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT REAFFIRMED.

The Cincinnati *Commercial* gives the following report of Senator Seward's speech at Lansing, Mich., on the 1st inst.:

Fellow Citizens: I was leaving, one misty morning in September, the City of Jerusalem, with my servants and pack-horses to carry provisions and clothing, having four marines of the United States Navy for guard, and an Arab sheik, secured by proper bribes, to give me safe conduct across the mountains of Judea, from the Holy City to the Dead Sea. The Governor had assigned me a janissary, under the responsibility of the bastinado, to see that we got safely out of the dangerous passes. As we climbed one of the lofty hills which skirted the Dead Sea, we came upon a party of native Arabs, who came out to meet us. The chief rode up to the head of our column, and demanded in a loud voice of the sheik, "How much *man* is here?" [Laughter.] He counted the whole party, and replied "how much men" there was by giving the number in the ranks. Standing here in the midst of fifteen thousand freemen, I might ask the same question, in the same sense in which the Arab used it—meaning how many men are here? But flattering as it is to see so many gathered together to listen to my words, I deem it of much more importance to ask, "How much *man* is here," than to inquire how many. I like to speak to as much manhood as I can, while I am quite indifferent as to numbers.

Fellow citizens, it is not, after all, so much a compliance with the kind invitation of the Republicans of Michigan which has brought me here, as it is my own desires. I have an interest in seeing the newly-formed Capitol of an embryo State, the

organization and development of free institutions, the prosperity of a free people; and I would willingly travel over many weary miles of corduroy road, if I could reach the centre of such and so prosperous a community. I would gladly derive from the gathered masses of my countrymen the inspiration needful to instruct me in conveying the lessons which our popular life and development are perpetually teaching. Believing, as I do, that man is but for a day, while humanity is universal, I shall have nothing to say about men. If I know myself, I have no prejudice against any man, however widely he may differ from me in opinion. Holding fast to principles, independently of personalities, I wish to say that society always excuses bad measures and bad principles when they are adopted by those whom they approve, and with whom they are accustomed to co-operate. But if I can find out the principles which move men, I shall then be able to judge intelligently how far they are to be trusted as guides. In order to determine any matter justly, we should know the principles involved in it. Nothing new arises before us for settlement, that is not related to what has gone before. What has been of old, was yesterday, is to-day, and will be again to-morrow. We fulfill our part upon the stage, pass off, and let the responsibility devolve upon our successors. Within the past three years we have added three new States to the Federal Union, and in the next ten years we shall have added four more.

The question that most interests us as patriots is this—What kind of a nation shall we become? We are so far on our way, and now, if the only question for us were how shall we con-

sult our own ease and peace? we might say—we are safe any way. We who are living to-day, and perish to-morrow, are in no danger. If we sought only our own peace we might adopt the indifferent creed of that political philosopher who “don’t care whether Slavery is voted up or voted down.” But to those coming up after us, the settlement of that question is as vital and important as the settlement of the question of the American Revolution was to our fathers. Why, fellow-citizens, they might have enjoyed peace, and security, and prosperity, and *not cared* for the question what led them to undertake and carry through that arduous revolutionary struggle. But they cared for their posterity, for us, and therefore they settled the question then and there.

Fellow citizens, what you in the West want is, to build a nation which shall be free, prosperous and honored; a nation which shall be acknowledged and looked upon as the greatest people whom the circling sun has ever looked down upon, from the beginning of time. Do you want anything less? If so, you are not worthy of the great trust committed to your charge. What kind of a nation then do you want? Just such a nation as the State of Michigan; a land where every man may sit, happy and free, not indeed under his own vine and fig-tree, but under his own apple, peach and shade trees, with none to molest or to make him afraid; a land where all the citizens are free to exercise the spontaneous will of freemen. You may go through the whole South, and you will never find such a body of citizens as this to-day, gathered voluntarily together to discuss and secure their rights. Not in France or Rome or any nation of Europe or Asia, could such a meeting be gathered, without a band of armed dragoons being gathered together to disperse and trample them down.

Fellow citizens—I was undertaking to analyze this extraordinary spectacle of a great popular meeting, discussing with dignity and moderation the conduct of their rulers, and to discard from their service every man who has forfeited their confidence. The fact of primary importance here, is that every man is free. I am here surrounded with 15,000 freemen. Now suppose for a moment, fellow citizens, that I was surrounded by 15,000 slaves, or even by 14,000 slaves and 1,000 freemen, and that having the opportunity of assemblage, they were to rise in insurrection and rebellion. Of course I must not say a word of human rights, or they might rise and cut the throats of the 1,000 freemen. There can be no such thing as freedom of debate, where all are slaves. The next greatness of Michigan consists in the fact that all its citizens are voluntary colonists. They came here not as an enforced emigration—they remain here not because they were born here, but because they are willing to come, and free to stay or to go. Thus, you have not a people gathered only from the shores of Western New York, or born within your own borders, but a people gathered from every State in the Federal Union, and every country of Europe; a people fertile in all those resources which make a great nation; a people which brings from every State just those elements which infuse life, wealth and power. You bring the bold, hardy and enterprising, and the brave and fearless men out of every Christian

country on earth. You bring them from England, Ireland, Scotland, France and Italy; and every man who comes is a man fit to be one of the founders of a Free State. [A voice in the crowd, “From Africa, too?”] Reverse this rule, and suppose that instead of this class of useful citizens, you brought only slaves and paupers, or even convicts, as some States export convicts to countries that will take them. What a difference in your civilization and development should we behold! The weak and useless elements in a population never voluntarily emigrate. Boldness, resolution and enterprise are the requirements of successful colonists. No colonies ever succeeded without them. This involves consequences of more importance than at first thought you would be likely to suppose. Can anybody tell me what nation on earth could have made this vast network of railroads which we possess by any other system of labor than ours? Can any one tell me, if we had all been Irishmen, how we could ever have got this railway system organized?

I am coming now to the question which my respected friend from a distance has asked me. Now suppose, by any course of policy which you should adopt, you could discourage and prevent freemen from any part of the world from coming in here? The European States would send their refuse classes—their convicts to colonize you. There would never be, thanks to the Providence that guides above, convicts enough to constitute a great country, but there would be enough to deteriorate fatally the character, the prosperity and the virtue of the people. To multiply such classes of population, is but to multiply weakness. What kind of labor should we have, if the freemen, the independent citizens from all countries, were to be met with some such discouraging policy as this? What would you have to supply the place of that great, busy, enterprising free labor which now distinguishes you? What could you have, but what South Carolina and Georgia fell back upon to replace the need of free labor settlers—the importation, namely, through the captains of New York vessels, of African negroes, at \$100 a head, to settle, and clear up, and develop the State of Michigan. Now you have happily escaped that one great evil of having Africans brought here compulsorily to perform that labor. And how have you been enabled to escape it? By the wisdom and foresight of our forefathers, who, by the Ordinance of 1787, declared that neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist in all your borders. Because there were men in those days wise enough to look across the broad fields of the West and anticipate that there would be those who would seek to cover them with Slavery. Is there a man in the State of Michigan who would be willing to-day that there should exist one single, solitary slave, obliged and bound to perform involuntary labor within the State of Michigan? [Cries of “No! No!”] If I take out a freeman and put in a slave, what happens? More than the loss of an enterprising and useful citizen—the loss of virtue—the loss of the spirit and energy that exists only with entire freedom. Let it once be understood that Slavery may exist here, and all the emigrants would desert Michigan at once. The two systems of labor cannot exist as a permanent form of civilization together. *There is an irrepressible conflict.* [Loud and

long continued cheers.] Introduce Slavery, and you expel Freedom. Introduce Freedom, and Slavery will, sooner or later, die. Now, from the beginning of my existence in politics, I have seen this conflict, and I have considered that my bounden duty as a patriot was to see to it, so far as it depended upon my action, that every new State should be a Free State, and to diminish it in the Slave States so far as, constitutionally, it could be done. That is the whole question. If I am wrong, I am grievously wrong.

Let us see what is the alternative, if I am wrong. Did you ever know of a State peopled exclusively by freemen that was in any danger from domestic insurrection, foreign invasion, or civil war? Is there any Slave State but will confess itself to-day in danger of insurrection? A few madmen organized at Chatham, in Canada, enter the oldest and proudest of the Southern States of this Union with a handful of pikes and spears—and straightway the Commonwealth of Virginia quivers and shakes with the terrors of domestic insurrection and servile war. Kentucky expels from her borders freemen who defend freedom within her limits, and Tennessee visits with the stake and faggot slaves who aspire to freedom. What do we see this moment in Texas—a State young and vigorous like Michigan, and priding herself upon still greater significance and power? She is convulsed with an almost universal panic because Slavery is discussed among a portion of her citizens.

But, I am asked, why interfere in this matter? why not stand aloof, and let it take care of itself, and adopt the Illinois Senator's maxim of entire non-intervention. I will tell you why. We are maintaining a standing army, of the heavy cost of one thousand dollars per man; and a standing navy, which is large, though not very effective; and what are we maintaining it for? To take care of Michigan; to protect New York, or Massachusetts, or Ohio, against internal or external violence? No; there is not a nation on the face of the earth which would dare to attack these free States, or any of them, if they were even disunited. But we are doing it in order that slaves may not escape from slave States into the free, and to secure those States from domestic insurrection, and because, if we provoke a foreign foe, Slavery cries out that it is in danger. Have I not a right to say that I would rather not have an army and navy—rather not ring from the hand of free labor its earnings to foster an army, whose tendency always and everywhere is to corrupt public virtue.

What, then, fellow citizens, are my limits? Simply these. The Constitution of the United States makes you and me sovereigns over the Territories for their good. They are vacant, unoccupied, unimproved; and if left to themselves, the cupidity of the slaveholder and the slave-trader would lead them to enter them and colonize them with Slavery. And this would be done by a surprise—by a movement, which, while it might not people the Territory with Slavery, would introduce enough to demoralize all the people, and turn them all into apologists for Slavery, upon a principle which, I am ashamed to confess, has ruled this nation for forty years. It is this: that for the sake of peace, of harmony, of quiet, we will sacrifice justice, freedom and the welfare of posterity. It is that for the sake of living on good terms

with your neighbors, while they will not give up an error, or a prejudice, or a principle, *you will*. There is no virtue among us—no reliance on God—no justice, no public conscience, that is equal to our dread of the oft-repeated menace, that if we don't give up freedom, right, justice and everything else, they will set a-fire this great temple of constitutional liberty and consume us all. [Loud cheers.] Fellow-citizens, I have no hope for these United States, but in the existence of such honest, candid, considerate citizens as will look earnestly into these things and interest themselves in their just determination. Give me such a man, and I care not whether he votes now for Douglas or Breckinridge, I'll have him a friend of freedom before he dies, [applause,] or if he goes an unrepentant Democrat to his grave, I'll have his children. [Hearty cheers.]

Fellow citizens, if Gen. Cass had so administered your Territorial Government of Michigan as to encourage the introduction of one thousand slaves, your noble Commonwealth would now have been a Slave State. That is what has been done with Texas, where, in a fine agricultural State, adapted to free labor, Slavery is not only established, but we are bound, by the very act of admission, to accept four more new Slave States out of her soil. That is what would have been done with Kansas had we not fought and struggled against it with all the energy of freemen. Now, fellow citizens, if the man who owns his own land is to be replaced by a man who is willing that another man should own him as a slave, the quality of society is deteriorated; and I believe that if you bring the question right home to any sound, right-minded man, he would say, I would much rather you would make a slave of me than to forge your manacles for any man who is under my protection and care. All that is wanted in order to settle this matter rightly is to make sure that all our efforts converge to the one great end of fostering Freedom and discouraging Slavery.

They tell us that Popular Sovereignty will work out the result of Freedom. So it would, if in Congress and in the Administration, you had the active friends of Freedom instead of men who are on the other side. But, whenever you have got to that point you have arrived where the advocates of that convenient doctrine will not follow you. Popular Sovereignty is good only to establish Slavery. Its virtues are not appreciated when it works the other way.—[Laughter and applause.] You will find no advocates of Popular Sovereignty among the Democracy after the 6th day of November next. And then you come right to the great issue of the irrepressible conflict, and if you don't like the conduct of affairs—why, four years are soon ended, and all who are opposed to it will have a fair opportunity in the next Presidential election to fix the machinery for another four years.—[Cheers.] All, on the other hand, which we have to do, is to take care that no missteps give occasion to charge us with abuse of the great trust committed to our hands. All will be well if we redeem the confidence of those to whom we have opened up the war to help secure our national welfare. All will go right when our efforts are directed to reclaim for us, a place in the family of free nations, and to secure for us the respect and confidence of mankind.

ON THE MISSOURI BORDER.

HIS

SPEECH AND ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION AT ST. JOSEPH.

MR. CHAIRMAN, GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW CITIZENS—I think that I have, some time before this, said that the most interesting and agreeable surprise that ever human being has had on this earth was that which Columbus felt when—after his long and tedious voyage in search of a continent, the existence of which was unknown to himself, as to all mankind, and the evidence of whose existence was nothing but a suggestion of his own philosophy, surrounded as he was by a mutinous crew, who were determined on the destruction of his own life if he should continue the voyage unsuccessfully another day—he went out at night on the deck of his little vessel, and there rose up before him the dark shadow of an island, lighted by human beings like himself. That was the most interesting surprise that ever occurred to any man on earth. And yet I do not think that Columbus was much more surprised than I and those who are with me have been to-night.

We have been traveling in a land of friends and brethren, through many States, from Maine to Missouri!—along the shores of the ocean, along the shores of the great lakes and the banks of great rivers—and I will not deny that our footsteps have been made pleasant by kind and friendly and fraternal greetings. We entered the soil of Missouri this morning, at ten o'clock, feeling that, although we had a right to regard the people of Missouri as our brethren, and although we were their brethren and friends, yet we were to be regarded by its citizens as strangers, if not as aliens and enemies; but this welcome which greets us here surpasses anything that we have experienced in our sojournings from Bangor, in the State of Maine, to this place. The discovery that here there is so much of kindness for us, so much of respect and consideration, takes us by surprise. [Applause.] I will not deny that it affects us with deep sensibility, for we did not propose to visit St. Joseph; There is a land beyond you—a land redeemed and saved for freedom, through trials and sufferings that have commended its young and growing people to the respect of mankind and to our peculiar sympathy.

We propose to be quiet travelers through the State of Missouri, hoping and expecting without stopping here, to rest this night on the other side of the Missouri, where we knew we would be welcome. [A voice—'We won't hurt you.'] No, I know you won't hurt me. The man who never worked evil to any human being, who challenges enemies as well as friends to show the wrong with which any being made in his own form can accuse him when he comes before the bar of Justice, has no fear of being harmed in

the country of his birth and of his affection. But I stated that not for the purpose of showing how agreeable is the fraternal welcome. It is full of promise. I pass over all that has been said to me of consideration for me. There are subjects on which I take no verdict from my fellow citizens. I choose to take the approbation if I can get it, of my conscience, and to wait till a future age for the respect and consideration of mankind. [Applause.] But I will dwell for one moment on this extraordinary scene, full of assurance on many points, and interesting to every one of you as it is to me.

The most cheering fact, as it is the most striking one in it, is that we who are visitors and pilgrims in Kansas, beyond you, find that we have reached Kansas already on the northern shores of the Missouri river. [Hurrah.] Now come up here you—if there are any such before me—who are so accustomed to sound an alarm about the danger of a dissolution of the Union; come up here, and look at the scene of Kansas and Missouri, so lately hostile, brought together on either shore in the bonds of fraternal affection and friendship. [Loud cheers.] That is exactly what will always occur whenever you attempt to divide this people and to set one portion against another. The moment you have brought the people to the point where there is the least degree of danger to the national existence felt, then those whom party malice or party ambition have arrayed against each other as enemies, will embrace each other as friends and brethren. [Enthusiastic applause.]

Let me tell you this simple truth: that though you live in a land of slavery there is not a man among you who does not love slavery less than he loves the Union. [Applause.] Nor have I ever met the man who loved freedom so much under any of the aspects involved in the present Presidential issues as he loved the Union, for it is only through the stability and perpetuity of this Union that any blessings whatever may be expected to descend on the American people. [Cheers.]

And now, fellow citizens, there is another lesson which this occasion and this demonstration teach. They teach that there is no difference whatever in the nature, constitution or character of the people of the several States of this Union, or of the several sections of this Union. They are all of one nature, even if they are not all native born and educated in the same sentiments. Although many of them came from distant lands, still the very effect of being an American citizen is to make them all alike.

I will tell you why this is so. The reason is simply this: The Democratic principle that every man ought to be the owner of the soil that he cultivates, and the owner of the limbs and the head that he applies to that culture, has been adopted in some of the States earlier than in others; and where it was adopted earliest it has worked out the fruits of higher advancement, of greater enterprise, of greater prosperity. Where

it has not been adopted, enterprise and industry have languished in proportion. *But it is going through; it is bound to go through. As it has already gone through eighteen States of the Union so it is bound to go through all of the other fifteen. It is bound to go through all of the thirty-three States of the Union for the simple reason that it is GOING THROUGH THE WORLD.*" [Enthusiastic cheering.]

Reception and Speeches at St. Louis and Springfield.

INTERVIEW WITH MR. LINCOLN.

Sketch of "Old Abe," &c.

MR. SEWARD said that he had not come to see St. Louis or the people of Missouri, but to see Kansas, which was entitled to his gratitude and respect. Missouri could take care of herself; she did not care for Republican principles, but warred with them altogether. If forty years ago Missouri had chosen to be a Free State, she would now have four millions of people instead of one million. He was a plain spoken man, and here was talking treason in the streets of St. Louis. He could not talk anything else if he talked as an honest man, but he found himself out of place here. [A Voice—"You're at home."]

Here, said he, are the people of Missouri, who ask me to make a speech, and at the same time there are laws as to what kind of speech I may make. The first duty that you owe to your city and yourselves is to repeal and abrogate every law on your statute book that prohibits a man from saying what his honest judgment and sentiment and heart tell him is the truth. [Mingled surprise and approbation on the part of the crowd.] Though I have said these hard things about the State of Missouri, I have no hard sentiments about it or St. Louis, for I have great faith and hope—nay, absolute trust—in Providence. What Missouri wants is courage, resolution, spirit, manhood—not consenting to take only that privilege of speech that slaveholders allow, but insisting on complete freedom of speech.

But I have full trust that it will all come right in the end; that in ten years you will double your population, and that in fifteen or twenty years you will have four millions of people. To secure that, you have but to let every man who comes here from whatever state or nation, speak out what he believes will promote the interests and welfare of mankind. What surprised me in Kansas was to see the vast improvements made there within six years, with so little wealth or strength among the people; and what surprised

me in Missouri was that, with such a vast territory and with such great resources, there was so little of population, improvement and strength to be found. [Faint manifestations of approval.] I ought not, perhaps, to talk these things to you.

I should have begun at the other end of the story, though a citizen of any other State has as much liberty here as the citizens of Missouri; but he has less liberty than I like. I want more than you have. I want to speak what I think, instead of what a Missourian thinks. I think you are in a fair way of shaming your Government into an enlightened position. You are in the way of being Germanized into it. I would much rather you had got into it by being Americanized instead of Germanized; but it is better to come to it through that way than not to come to it at all.

It was through the Germans Germanizing Great Britain that Magna Charta was obtained, and that that great charter of English liberty came to be the charter of the liberties of the sons of England throughout the whole world. Whatever lies in my power to do to bring into successful and practical operation the great principle that this government is a government for free men and not for slaves or slaveholders, and that this country is to be the home of the exile from every land, I shall do as you are going to do by supporting Abraham Lincoln for President, and Hannibal Hamlin for Vice-President. [Cheers.]

At Springfield, where Mr. Lincoln resides, there was a crowd awaiting the arrival of the train, and a salute was fired as it approached the station. There was a rush into and about the windows of the car in which Mr. Seward was seated. Among those who pressed forward to shake him by the hand was Mr. Lincoln himself. His portraits bear a sufficient resemblance to him to make recognition easy, and yet he is not by any means so hard featured and almost repulsive looking as they represent him.

On the contrary, while no one would call him

a good looking man, neither would any one be repelled by his aspect. The good humored expression that lurks about his clear gray eye, travels the one long, deep curved furrow down his cheek, and makes its home somewhere in the region of his capacious mouth, must always make him friends. He dresses in the ordinary style of Western lawyers, black cloth swallow-tailed coat, and pants fitting tightly to his long, bony frame; the inevitable black satin vest, open low down, and displaying a broad field of shirt bosom, the collar being turned down over a black silk neckerchief.

The crowd commenced to vociferate for Seward and finally succeeded in getting him out to the platform. After alluding to the extent of his trip, he said:

I am happy to express, on behalf of the party with whom I am travelling, our gratitude and acknowledgments for this kind and generous reception at the home of your distinguished fellow-citizen, our excellent and honored candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the United States. If there is in any part of the country a deeper interest felt in his election than there is in any other part, it must of course be here, where he has lived a life of usefulness; where he is surrounded by the companions of his labors and of his public services. We are happy to report to you, although we have traveled over a large part of the country, we have found no doubtful States. [Applause.]

You would naturally expect that I should say something about the temper and disposition of the State of New York. The State of New York will give a generous and cheerful and effective support to your neighbor, Abraham Lincoln. I have heard about combinations and coalitions there, and I have been urged from the beginning to abandon this journey and turn back on my footsteps. Whenever I shall find any reason to suspect that the majority which the State of New York will give for the Republican candidate, will be less than 60,000, [cheers,] I may

do so. The State of New York never fails—never flinches. She has been committed from the beginning, as she will be to the end, under all circumstances, to the great principles of the Republican party.

She voted to establish this land of freedom for you in 1787. She sustained the Ordinance of '87 till you were able to take care of yourselves. Among the first acts of her government, she abolished slavery for herself. She has known nothing of compromises, nothing of condition or qualification in this great principle, and she never will. She will sustain your distinguished neighbor because she knows he is true to this great principle, and when she has helped to elect him, by giving as large a majority as can be given by any half dozen other States, then you will find that she will ask less, exact less, from him, and support him more faithfully than any other State can do. That is the way she did with John Quincy Adams, that is the way she sustained Gen. Taylor, and that is the way she will sustain Gen. Lincoln. [Great cheers.]

There were loud calls for Gen. Nye, to which he responded. While he was speaking the two great Republican leaders had a few words of general conversation in the car, within the hearing of those around them. They expressed themselves satisfied as to the result of the election.

Mr. Lincoln said: Twelve years ago you told me that this cause would be successful, and ever since I have believed that it would be. Even if it did not succeed now, my faith would not be shaken.

An invitation was extended to the party to go to some place not definitely understood. They left the car for the purpose in Mr. Lincoln's company, but, finding that the train would only stop a few moments, they turned back, shook hands with the President expectant, and resumed their seats. Mr. Seward was cheered as the train swept through the town.

SPEECH AT MADISON, WISCONSIN,

September 12, 1860.

DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE NORTHWEST.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—It is a bright September sun that is shining down upon us—such a sun as nature, pleased with the remembrance of her own beneficence, seems to delight in sending forth to grace the close of a season which has been crowned with abundance and luxuriance, unknown even to her own profuseness. It is such a sun as nature, pleased with seeing the growth of a noble capital in a great State, may be supposed to send out to illuminate and to make more effulgent the magnificent beauties of

the place in which we are assembled. It is such a September sun as we might almost suppose nature, sympathizing with the efforts of good men, lovers of liberty, anxious to secure their own freedom, to perpetuate that freedom for the enjoyment of their posterity, and to extend its blessings throughout the whole world, and for all generations, may have sent forth in token of sympathy with such a noble race. [Applause.] But, fellow citizens, bright and cheerful as this hour is, my heart is oppressed, and I am unable

at once to lift myself above the sadness of recent scenes and painful recollections. I obeyed the command of the Republican people of Wisconsin to appear before them on this, the 12th day of September; and as I approached the beautiful seaport, if I may so call the city that crowns the shores of Lake Michigan, and affords entrance to this magnificent State, I had anticipated, because I had become habituated to, a welcome that should be distinguished by the light of a thousand torches, and by the voices of music and of cannon. But the angel of death passed just before me on the way, and instead of footsteps lighted with the greeting of thousands of my fellow citizens, I found only a thick darkness, increased, as only nature's darkness can be, by the weeping and wailing of mothers for the loss of children, and refusing to be comforted. I have been quite unable to rise from that sudden shock; to forget that instead of the voice of a kind and merry and genial welcome, I heard only mourning and lamentation in the street.

To you, perhaps, the scene seems somewhat foreign, because it occurred in your beautiful seaport, but it was not merely a municipal calamity. It is a calamity and disaster that befalls the State, and strikes home dismay and horror to the bosoms of all its people, for these were citizens of the State who perished, and those who survive are the mourners; the desolate widows and orphans who are bereaved. Let me, before I proceed, take the liberty to bring this subject home to the State authorities of Wisconsin, and to ask and to implore that nothing may be left undone, if there is yet anything that can be done, to rescue a single sufferer from that dreadful calamity, and to bring to the comforts of social life, and of a sound, good, religious, and public education, the orphans who are left to wander on the streets by the lake side.

Fellow citizens, it is a political law—and when I say political law, I mean a higher law—[cries of "good,"]—a law of Providence, that empire has, for the last three thousand years, so long as we have records of civilization, made its way constantly westward, and that it must continue to move on westward until the tides of the renewed and of the decaying civilizations of the world meet on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Within a year I have seemed to myself to follow the track of empire in its westward march for three thousand years. I stood but a year ago on the hill of Calvary. I stood soon afterward on the Piræus of Athens. Again I found myself on the banks of the Tiber. Still advancing westward I rested under the shades of the palaces of the kings of England, and trod the streets of the now renovated capital of France. From those capitals I made my way at last to Washington, the city of established empire for the present generation of men, and of influence over the destinies of mankind. [Applause.]

Empire moves far more rapidly in modern than it did in ancient times. The empire established at Washington, is of less than a hundred years formation. It was the empire of thirteen Atlantic American States. Still practically the mission of that empire is fulfilled. The power that directs it is ready to pass away from those thirteen States, and although held and exercised under the same Constitution and national form of government, yet it is now in the very act of being transferred from the thirteen States east

of the Alleghany mountains and on the coast of the Atlantic ocean, to the twenty States that lie west of the Alleghanies, and stretch away from their base to the base of the Rocky Mountains. The political power of the Republic, the empire is already here in the plain that stretches between the great lakes on the east and the base of the Rocky Mountains on the west; and you are heirs to it. When the next census shall reveal your power, you will be found to be the masters of the United States of America, and through them the dominating political power of the world. [Applause—and voice, "Amen."] Our mission, if I may say that I belong to that eastern and falling empire instead of the rising western one—the mission of the thirteen States has been practically accomplished. And what is it? Just like the mission of every other power on earth. To reproduce, to produce a new and greater and better power than we have been ourselves, [applause,] to introduce on the stage of human affairs twenty new States and to prepare the way for twenty more, before whose rising greatness and splendor, all our own achievements pale and fade away. We have done this with as much forethought perhaps as any people ever exercised, by saving the broad domain which you and these other forty States are to occupy, saving it for your possession, and so far as we had virtue enough, by surrounding it with barriers against the intrusion of ignorance, superstition and slavery. [Applause.]

Because you are to rise to the ascendant and exercise a dominating influence, you are not, therefore, to cast off the ancient and honored thirteen that opened the way for you and marshaled you into this noble possession, nor are you to cast off the new States of the West. But you are to lay still broader foundations, and to erect still more noble columns to sustain the empire which our fathers established, and which it is the manifest will of our Heavenly Father shall reach from the shores of the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. It was a free government which they established, and it was a self-government—a government such as, on so large a scale, or indeed on any scale, has never before existed. I know that when you consider what a magnificent destiny you have before you, to lay your hand on the Atlantic coast, and to extend your power to the Pacific ocean and grasp the great commerce of the east, you will fully appreciate the responsibility. It is only to be done by maintaining the Democratic system of government. There is no name given under heaven by which, in this generation, nations can be saved from desolation and ruin, than Democracy. This, to many conservative ears, would seem a strange proposition, and yet it is so simple that I lack the power almost of elucidating it. Look at England. She is ambitious, as she well may be, and ought to be, to retain that dominion, reaching into every part of the habitable globe which she now exercises. She is likely to do it, too, and may do it, by reducing, every successive year, the power of her aristocracy, and introducing more and more, the popular element of Democracy into the administration of our government.

In many respects the government of England, though more aristocratic, is still less monarchical than our own. The British empire exists to-day

only by recognizing and gradually adopting the great truth that if the British empire is to stand, it is the British people who are to maintain that empire and enjoy and exercise it. France, the other great European power, which seems to stand firmer now than ever, and to be renewing her career of prosperity and glory—France, under the form of a despotism, has adopted the principle of universal suffrage, and the empire of France to-day is a democracy. The Austrian empire is falling. And why? Because democracy is rising in Germany to demand the liberation of the people of its various nations, and the exercise of universal suffrage. And Italy to-day all along the coast of the Mediterranean, is rising up to the dignity of renewed national life, by adopting the principle of universal suffrage and the limitation of power by the action of the whole people.

Now if in the Old World, where government and empire are entrenched and established so strong in hereditary aristocracy, no empire can stand except as it yields to the democratic principle; look around over the United States of America, and say how long you can hold these States in a federal union or maintain one common authority or empire here, except on the principles of democracy? Therefore, it is that, I say, that you of the northwest are, above all things, first, last, and all the time, to recognize as the great element of the republic, the system and principles of democracy.

But, fellow citizens, it is easy to talk about democracy. I have heard men prate of it by the hour, and admire it, and shout for it, and express their reverence for it; and yet I have seen that they never comprehend the simplest element of democracy? What is it? Is it the opposite of monarchy or of aristocracy? Aristocracy is maintained everywhere, in all lands, by one of two systems, or by both combined. An aristocracy is the government in which the privileged own the lands, and the many unprivileged work them, or in which the few privileged own the laborers and the laborers work for them. In either case the laborer works on compulsion, and under the constraint of force; and in either case he takes that which may remain after the wants of the owners of land or labor are both satisfied. The laborer must rest content with the privilege of being protected in his personal rights; and the powers of the government are exercised by the owner, of labor and of land.

Here, then, you see I have brought you to the consideration of the great problem of society in this republic or empire. It is this: Is there any danger that in the United States the citizen will not be the owner of the land which he cultivates? If there is any part of the United States where the labor or the land is monopolized by capital, there is a place in which the democratic element has not yet had its introduction or been permitted to work its way effectually. So, on the other hand, as here, where you are, no man can monopolize the land which another man is obliged to cultivate, much less monopolize the labor by which the lands on your fields are cultivated, you are entirely and absolutely established and grounded on democratic principles. But, you all know, that has not always been the history of our whole country, and, at times, was not the condition of any part of it.

Some two hundred years ago, when laborers were scarce, and the field to be cultivated was large, private citizens of the Atlantic States, driven, as they said, by the cupidity of the British Government, introduced the labor of slaves into the American Colonies, and then established the aristocracy of land and labor. The system pervaded nearly the whole Atlantic States. If it had not been interrupted it would have pervaded the Continent of America; and instead of what you see, and of what you are a part, and of what you do,—instead of emigration from the Eastern States into the prairies of the West, and instead of emigration from Europe all over the United States, you would have had in the Northwest this day the Boston and New York merchant importing laborers instead of freemen into the seaports, and dispersing them over the entire valley of the Mississippi. That would have been the condition of civilization on this continent. It has been fortunate for you, and fortunate for us, that such a desecration of the magnificent scene, provided by nature for the improvement of human society and for the increase of human happiness, has been arrested so soon; and you will see how felicitous it is when for one moment you compare the condition of Wisconsin, and of Maine, and of Iowa, and of Illinois, and of Indiana, and of all the Free States of the Union, with the Islands of the West Indies, colonized just at the same time that the Atlantic States were colonized, and with the condition of South America, a whole and entire new continent, abounding in the most luxuriant vegetation and with the greatest resources of mineral wealth, absolutely reduced to a condition of perpetual civil war, and ever renewed ruinous desolation. The salvation of North America from all those disasters that have befallen the Southern portion of the continent is the result of bold and firm procedure on the part of your ancestors and mine, less than a hundred years ago.

The Government of the United States was established in an auspicious moment. The world had become aroused to the injustice as well as to the inexpediency of the system of Slavery; and the people of the United States, rising up to the dignity of the decision that was before them, determined to prevent the further extension, as far and fast as possible, to secure the abolition of African Slavery. It was under the influence of a high, righteous, noble, humane excitement like that, that even the State of Virginia, itself a Slave State, like the State of New York, determined that, so far as her power and her will could command the future, Slavery should cease forever; first, by abolishing the African Slave Trade, which would bring about, ultimately, the cessation of domestic Slavery; and, in the second place, by declaring that her consent to the cession of territory northwest of the Ohio, of which you occupy so beautiful a part, was given with the express condition that it should never be the home of Slavery or involuntary servitude. [Applause.]

But, fellow citizens, I need not remind you that this, like most other efforts of human society to do good and to advance the welfare of mankind, had its painful and unfortunate reaction. Hardly twenty years had elapsed after the passage of those noble acts for the foundation of liberty on the North American continent, before

there came over the nation a tide of demoralization, the results of which, coming on us with such fearful rapidity, surpass almost our power to describe or to sufficiently deplore.

What have we seen since that was done? We have seen the people of the United States—for it is of no use to cast responsibility on parties, or administrations, or statesmen—extend slavery all around the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. We have seen them take Texas into the Union and agree that she should come in as a Slave State, and have the right to multiply herself into four more Slave States. We have seen California and New Mexico conquered by the people of the United States, with the deliberate consent, if not purpose, that Slavery should be extended from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean. We have seen the Constitution of the United States, perverted by the consent of the people until that Constitution, instead of being a law of freedom and a citadel of human rights, has come to be pronounced by the affected judgment and willing consent of the highest tribunal of the United States, yet enjoying the confidence and support of the people, to be a tower and bulwark of human slavery, of African bondage; and you have it now announced by the government of the United States, which you yourselves brought into power, that wherever the Constitution of the United States goes, it carries, not freedom with the eagles of conquest, but hateful bondage. [Applause.] If the principle which you have thus permitted to be established is true, then there is not an arsenal within the United States, not a military or naval school of the federal government, not a federal jail, not a dock yard, not a ship that traverses the ocean, bearing the American flag in any part of the land, where the law, the normal law, the law by which men are tried and judged, is not a law by which every man whose ancestor was a slave is a slave, and by which property in slaves, not freedom of man, is the real condition of society under the federal system of government. I can only ask you to consider for a moment how near you have come to losing everything which you enjoy of this great interest of freedom. The battle culminated at last on the fields of Kansas.

How severe and how dreadful a battle that has been, you all know. It was a great and desperate effort of the aristocracy of capital in labor, to carry their system practically with all its evils to the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and to cut off the Atlantic States from all communication with the sister States on the Pacific, and so extend Slavery from the centre, both ways, restoring it throughout the whole country. You will say that this was a very visionary attempt; but it was far from being visionary. It was possible, and for a time seemed fearfully probable—probable for this reason, that the land must have labor, and that it must be either the labor of free-men or the labor of slaves. Introduce slave labor in any way that you can, and free labor is repelled, and avoids it. Slave labor was introduced into this country by the opening of the African slave trade, and when the Territory of the United States, in the interior of the continent was open to Slavery with your consent and mine, nothing then would have remained but to open and restore the African slave trade; for it is pro-

hibited only by a law, and the same power that made the law could repeal and abrogate it. The same power that abrogated the Missouri Compromise in 1854, would, if the efforts to establish Slavery in Kansas had been successful, have been, after a short time, bold enough, daring enough, desperate enough, to have repealed the prohibition of the African slave trade. And, indeed, that is yet a possibility now; for, disguise these issues now before the American people as they may be disguised by the Democratic party, yet it is nevertheless perfectly true, that if you forego your opposition and resistance to Slavery, if this popular resistance should be withdrawn, or should, for any reason, cease, then the African slave trade, which at first illegally renews itself along the coasts of our Southern States, would gradually steal up the Mississippi, until the people, tired with a hopeless resistance, should become indifferent, and African Slavery would once more become the disgraceful trade of the American flag.

Now, all these evils would have happened, all this abandonment of the continent of North America to slavery would have happened, and have been inevitable, had resistance to it depended alone on the people of the thirteen original States. We were already overpowered there. From one end of the Atlantic States to the other, there were, in 1850, scarcely three States which did not declare that henceforth they gave up the contest, and that they were willing that the people of the new Territories might have slavery or freedom, and might come into the Union as slave States or as free States, just as they pleased.

When that had happened, what would have followed? Why, that the people who had the right to slavery if they pleased, had the right to get slaves if they pleased. How then were we saved? It seems almost as if it was Providential that these new States of the Northwest, the State of Michigan, the State of Wisconsin, the State of Iowa, the State of Maryland, the State of Ohio, founded on this reservation for freedom that had been made in the year 1787, matured just in the critical moment to interpose, to rally the free States of the Atlantic coast, to call them back to their ancient principles, to nerve them to sustain them in the contest at the Capital, and to send their noble and true sons and daughters to the plains of Kansas, to defend, at the peril of their homes, and even their lives, if need were, the precious soil which had been abandoned by the Government to slavery from the intrusion of that, the greatest evil that has ever befallen our land. [Applause.] You matured in the right time. And how came you to mature? How came you to be better, wiser, than we of the Atlantic States? The reason is a simple one, perfectly plain. Your soil had been never polluted by the footprints of a slave. Every foot of ours had been redeemed from slavery. You are a people educated in the love of freedom, and to whom the practice of freedom and of Democracy belongs, for every one of you own the land you cultivate, and no human being that has ever trodden it has worn the manacles of a slave. [Loud applause.] And you come from other regions too. You come from the South, where you knew the evils of slavery. You come from Germany and from

Ireland, and from Holland and from France, and from all over the face of the globe, where you have learned by experience the sufferings that result from aristocracy and oppression. [Applause.] And you brought away with you from your homes the sentiments, the education of freemen. You came then just at the right moment. You came prepared. You came qualified. You came sent by the Almighty to rescue this land and the whole continent from slavery. Did ever men have a more glorious duty to perform, or a more beneficent destiny before them than the people of the northwestern angle that lies between the Ohio river and the great lakes and the Mississippi? I am glad to see that you are worthy of it, that you appreciate it.

It does not need that I should stimulate you by an appeal to your patriotism, to your love of justice, and to your honor, to perfect this great work, to persevere in it until you shall bring the Government of the United States to stand hereafter as it stood forty years ago, a tower of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of all lands, instead of a bulwark of slavery. [Applause.] I prefer rather to deal in what may perhaps be not less pleasing to you, and that is, to tell you that the whole responsibility rests henceforth directly or indirectly on the people of the northwest. Abandon that responsibility, and slavery extends from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the Atlantic coast. There can be no virtue in commercial and manufacturing communities to maintain a Democracy, when the Democracy themselves do not want a Democracy. [Laughter.] There is no virtue in Pearl street, in Wall street, in Court street, in Chestnut street, in any other street of great commercial cities, that can save the great Democratic Government of ours, when you cease to uphold it with your intelligent votes, your strong and mighty hands. You must, therefore, lead us, as we heretofore reserved and prepared the way for you. We resign to you the banner of human rights and human liberty, on this continent, and we bid you be firm, bold and onward, and then you may hope that we will be able to follow you. [Loud applause.]

I have said that you are to have the responsibility alone. I have shown you that in the Atlantic Northern States we were dependent on you. I need not tell you that at present you can expect no effective support or sympathy in the Atlantic Southern States.

You must demonstrate the wisdom of our cause by argument, by reason, by the firm exercise of suffrage, in every way in which the human intelligence and human judgment can be convinced of truth and right—you must demonstrate it, giving line upon line and precept upon precept, overcoming passion and prejudice and enmity, with gentleness, with patience, with loving kindness to your brethren of the Slave States, until they shall see that the way of wisdom which you have chosen, is also the path of peace. [Applause.] The Southwest are sharers with you of the Northwest in this great inheritance of empire. It belongs equally to them and to you. They have plains as beautiful. They have rivers as noble. They have all the elements of wealth, prosperity, and power that you have. Still from them, from Kentucky and Tennessee, from Missouri and Arkansas, from Alabama and Missouri, and Louisiana, you will

for the present, receive no aid or support; but you will have to maintain your principles in opposition, although I trust, not in defiance of them—and that, for the simple reason that in the great year 1787, when Mr. Jefferson proposed that Slavery should be excluded in all the public domain of the United States, lying south-west, as well as that lying northwest, of the Ohio river, those States had not the forecast, had not the judgment, to surrender the temporary conveniences and advantages of Slavery, and to elect, as your ancestors chose for you, the great system of Free Labor. They chose Slavery, and they have to drag out, for some years yet, not long, not so long as some of you will live, but still so long that they will be a drag and a weight upon your movements, instead of lending you assistance—they have got to drag out, to the end, their system of Slave Labor. You have, therefore, as you see, the whole responsibility. It depends upon you. You have no reliance upon the Atlantic States of the east, north or south. You have the opposition of the southern States on either side of the Alleghany mountains; but still the power is with you. You are situated where all powers have ever been, that have controlled the destiny of the nation to which they belonged. You are in the land which produces the wheat and the corn, the cereal grains—the land that is covered with the oak, and where they say the Slave cannot live. They are in the land that produces cotton and sugar, and the tropical fruits—in the land where *they say* the white man cannot labor, in the land where the white man must perish if he have not a negro Slave to provide him with food and raiment. [Laughter.] They do, indeed, command the mouths of the rivers; but what is that worth, except as they derive perpetual supplies, perpetual moral reinvigoration, from the hardy sons of the north, that reside around the sources of those mighty rivers? [Applause.]

I am sure that, in this, I am speaking only words of truth and experience. The northwest is by no means so small as you may think it; I speak to you because I feel that I am, and, during all my mature life, have been one of you. Although of New York, I am still a citizen of the northwest. [Good.] The northwest extends eastward to the base of the Alleghany mountains, and does not all of Western New York lie westward of the Alleghany mountains? [Good.]

Whence comes all the inspiration of free soil, which spreads itself with such cheerful voices over all these plains? Why, from New York, westward of the Alleghany mountains. The people before me—who are you but New York men, while you are men of the northwest? It is an old proverb, that men change the skies but not their minds, when they emigrate; but you have changed neither skies nor mind. [Applause.] I might call the roll of Western New York, and I doubt not that, when I came to Herkimer county, I should have a response. I certainly have had responses here from Cayuga and Genesee [A voice: "Erie"], and from Erie [A voice: "Auburn"], and from Auburn [A voice: "Seneca"], and from Seneca [A voice: "Yates"], and from Yates; aye, aye. [Loud laughter.] Bless my soul! I have been laboring under a delusion all the time. I thought I was out here, midway between the Mississippi and the Lakes, and I find

I am standing on the stage in the centre park at home. [A voice: "Right at home."] [Another voice: "And old Ontario."] And old Ontario. We will not forget old Ontario, nor old Oswego, nor Oneida.

Fellow citizens, I will add but one word more; this is not the business of this day alone. It is not the business of this year alone. It is not the business of the northwest alone. It is the interest, the destiny of human society on the continent. You are to make this whole continent, from north to south, from east to west, a land of freedom and a land of happiness. [Applause.] There is no power on earth now existing, no empire existing, or as yet established, that is to equal or can equal in duration the future of the United States. It is

not for ourselves alone; you have the least possible interest in it. It is, indeed, for those children of yours. Old John Adams, when at the close of the revolutionary war he sat down and counted up the losses and sacrifices that he had endured and made, rejoiced in the establishment of the independence which had been the great object of his life, and said, "I have gained nothing. I should have been even more comfortable, perhaps, and more quiet, had we remained under the British dominion; but for my children, and for their children, and for the children of the generation that labored with me, I feel that we have done a work which entitles us to rejoice, and call upon us by our successes to render our thanks to Almighty God."

GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

EVENING SPEECH AT DETROIT,

September 4, 1860.

In the evening, after Mr. Seward had made his great speech in Detroit, he was called upon at his lodgings (Senator Chandler's) by an immense multitude.

Senator Chandler made a few remarks, and then gave way to Senator Seward. Loud cheers were given for Seward as he came forward to the edge of the balcony. He said:

FELLOW CITIZENS: If I appear in obedience to your call to-night, I hope it will only be a new illustration of an old practice of mine, never to give up an honest and virtuous attempt, though I might fail in it the first time. I tried to-day and utterly failed to make the Republicans of Michigan hear, and now, in obedience to your call to-night, renew the effort. The end, on the part of the people, is at hand. It is now upon us, and the simple reason is that the people have become at last attentive, willing to be convinced, and satisfied of the soundness of the Republican faith. It has been a task. We had first to reach the young through the prejudices of the old. I have never expected my own age and generation to relinquish the prejudices in which they and I were born. I have expected, as has been the case heretofore in the history of mankind, that the old would remain unconverted, and that the great work of reformation and progress would rest with the young. That has come at last, for though the Democratic party have denied the as-

cendency and obligations of the "higher law," still they bear testimony to it in their lives if not in their conversation. [Laughter.] Democracy will die in obedience to "higher law," and Republicans are born, and will be born, and none but Republicans will be born in the United States after the year of 1860. [Laughter and applause.] The first generation of the young men of the country, educated in the Republican faith, has appeared in your presence by a strong and bold demonstrative representation to-night. It is the young men who constitute the Wide-Awake force. Ten years ago, and twenty years ago, the Wide-Awake force were incapable of being organized. Four years ago it was organized for the distraction of the country and the Republican cause. To-day the young men of the United States are for the first time on the side of freedom against slavery. [Great applause.] Go on, then, and do your work. Put this great cause into the keeping of your great, honest, worthy leader, Abraham Lincoln. [A voice—"The irrepressible conflict."] Believe me sincere when I say that if it had devolved upon me to select from all men in the United States a man to whom I should confide the standard of this cause—which is the object for which I have lived and for which I would be willing to die—that man would have been Abraham Lincoln. [Great applause.]

GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

SPEECH AT LA CROSSE, WISCONSIN,

September 14, 1860.

Gov. SEWARD reached La Crosse at ten o'clock this morning, and found a large crowd of citizens—with the inevitable Wide-Awakes among them—asssembled on the levee. An address of welcome was presented to Mr. Seward, on the deck of the steamboat, to which he replied as follows:

FELLOW CITIZENS—It has always been my purpose to anticipate the progress of civilization in the West, by visiting the interior portion of the continent before the Indian and his canoe have given place to the white man, the steamer, the railroad and the telegraph. With that view, I explored, in 1856, the banks of Lake Superior, one year only in advance of the establishment of civilization at Sault St. Marie. It has been my misfortune that I have not been able to execute my purpose to visit the Upper Mississippi until I find that I can no longer trace on its shores or bluffs, or among the people who gather around me, a single feature of the portraits of Catlin, which first made me acquainted with this wonderful and romantic region. I must take you as I find you. I have come here at last, attended by a few friends from the Eastern States—from Ohio, from New York, from Michigan, from Massachusetts—with them to see for ourselves the wonders of this great civilization which are opening here to herald the establishment of political power and empire in the Northwest. But our anticipations are surpassed by what we see. None of us would have believed that elegant cities would have so rapidly sprung up on these shores; nor would we have looked for such evidences of improvement and development as would require a hundred years to execute in the States from which we come. This is gratifying to us, because it shows how rapidly the American people can improve resources, develop wealth, and establish constitutional power and guarantees for the protection of freedom. If we found you isolated and separate communities, distinct from ourselves, we still should be obliged to rejoice in such evidences of prosperity and growing greatness. How much more gratifying it is for us to find, in everything that we see and hear, abundant evidences that we are, after all, not separate and distinct peoples—not distinct peoples of Iowa, Wisconsin, New York and Massachusetts, but that we are one people—from Plymouth Rock at least to the banks of the Mississippi and to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. *It is an assurance that enables us to trample under our feet every menace, every threat of disunion, every alarm and apprehension of the dismemberment of this great empire; for we find in the sentiments which you have expressed to us to-day precisely the sentiments which were kindled two hundred*

years ago on Plymouth Rock, and which are spreading wider and wider, taking deeper and deeper roots in the American soil. They give us the sure and reliable guarantee that under every possible change of condition and circumstance the American people will nowhere forget the common interests, the common affections and the common destiny which make them all one people.

Mr. Seward addressed a large audience in the afternoon. He said that he found it difficult to discuss things of the past. Slavery, said he, as a federal institution, is obsolete in this land. Only one argument remains to the Democracy. It comes to us loudly and clamorously from the Southern States, and querulously and timidly from among ourselves. It is that if we do not choose to give up the contest, and if we elect our candidate, the fabric of this Union shall be broken down and shall perish in ruins. That is the only argument left—that the Union will be dissolved if we succeed in electing the honorable statesman from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln. Well, I propose to address a few words to you on the subject, and to examine how imminent that danger is with which we are menaced. The Union is to be dissolved. Certainly. Why not, if Abraham Lincoln, or the Congress of the United States acting with him, shall commit any overt act that shall be unjust or oppressive to the slave States or to any portion of the Union? But they will not wait for that, and they are very wise in not waiting for it, because if they put their threats on that condition they would, in the first place, have no argument against Mr. Lincoln's election, and in the next place they would have to wait until after the election before they raised the argument. [Laughter.] So it must be on the condition, pure and simple, that Abraham Lincoln shall be elected President of the United States.

Well, if he be elected, it will be by a majority of the American people expressing their choice for him under the forms of the constitution, and by the laws made by slaveholders and his opponents, equally with freesoilers and their friends, if Abraham Lincoln shall be elected lawfully and constitutionally, then the government is to come down. Bless my soul, fellow-citizens, what can we do? If we like Abraham Lincoln, as I am sure you do—don't you?—[aye, aye,—] if all the people of the United States like him better than they like John Bell, or Stephen A. Douglas, or Mr. Breckinridge, how can we help his being elected? [Laughter and applause.] If he shall be elected, what is that more than the people of the United States have been guilty of doing for seventy years, every fourth year—

electing one man whom they like better than any other man? Is there anything wrong in that? Can you contrive any way in which you can elect a minority man—a man whom the people do not like? If so, I should like to see the patent produced. What kind of government would it be if we elected a man we did not like instead of a man we did like? My impression is that it would be a government not differing very far from the empire of Austria, where they always manage to elect a man whom the people do not like, and where they have an admirable way of saving the Union by organizing an army of 600,000 men armed to the teeth to maintain the man whom the people do not like, rather than let them have the man whom they do like. [A Voice—That is the way the democrats are doing here.] That is the way they would do everywhere; but that is the very thing which cannot be done here. Fellow citizens, let me say to you that those who talk about destroying this Union, and even those who fear that it is going to be destroyed because the people do what they lawfully may do and what they have a constitutional right to do, know nothing at all of the subject of which they are talking. They have no idea of what the Union is. They have never raised their thoughts so high, nor examined its foundations so low, nor surveyed its proportions broadly enough to know what this Union is. They understand it as a co-partnership of thirty-three States, fifteen of which delight in the slave trade, and eighteen of which dislike and repudiate the slave trade, and prefer the hiring and compensation of free laborers.

We may call slavery by gentle names or modest terms, but slavery is nothing less than the trade in slaves, for it makes merchandise of the bodies and souls of men. Now these fifteen States have the right and have the power, the unquestionable and undeniable power, to carry on this trade in slaves within these fifteen States themselves. We do not interfere with them. We have no right to interfere with them. They are sovereign or subject, and are exempt from our control. But when it comes to the federal Union—the Union which is the government over us all—there their right to trade in slaves in the Territories of the United States has ceased, because the constitution is a constitution to establish justice, not injustice; to maintain peace not by force, but by the consent of the governed, and to perpetuate, not the curse of slavery, but the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity forever. This Union is this nation—is this empire of thirty millions of people. It is not made for mere trade, much less for trade in the bodies and souls of men. It is made for the happiness of the people, for the development of the material resources of the country, to guarantee peace and safety to every citizen in this broad land, and to guarantee him

in the full enjoyment of all his rights of life, liberty and property. It opens to him this vast continent for the pursuit of happiness, and by its power acting on the governments of the Old World and of the New, it makes the American citizen the citizen of the world. [Applause.] This Union of ours gives us a property in the tombs at Quiney and Mount Vernon, and in the battle fields of Bunker Hill, and Saratoga, and Yorktown. Are these all to be surrendered if any State among us should become discontented because they are not able to secure all the special advantages from the Union that seem to be desirable?

If the Union is to be dissolved, I have shown that the way is not very easy to do it. Now let me know who is to do it? It has been said that Alabama and Missouri, and Mississippi and Louisiana, and Florida and South Carolina, will go out, and then the Union will be dissolved. They say, "you will not try to take us back; you will not dare to imbrue your hands in brothers' blood to re-establish by force of conquest a Union which we have repudiated and dissolved." They are right. We do not propose to do any such thing. In the first place those States are not going out. If they go out they go out for a cause, and that cause is to save slavery. Well, what are they in for, but to have slavery saved for them by the federal Union? Why would they go out, for they could not maintain and defend themselves against their own slaves? We would see them march up, one after another, under the black flag, trampling under foot those stars and stripes of ours. If it were possible I should like to see the experiment of old Massachusetts going out and endeavoring to carry Plymouth rock with her, or I would like to see New York go out and carry the harbor and Catskill mountains with her. What do you think the rest of the States would say? I think they would fold their arms and see whether they behaved themselves, and they would let them stay out just as long as they behaved themselves. Well, what would they do if they got out and did not behave themselves. If New York should levy taxes and imposts, and instead of paying them into the national exchequer should keep them on her own account, that would not be behaving well. Those who think that for nothing or for any imaginary cause, the Union is to be dissolved or destroyed, have no idea of the nature of the government under which they live, or of the character of the people. Go on, then, and do your duty. The lesson of public life is one that is easy to be learned. It resolves itself simply into this—to ascertain, as you always can, what, in the day in which you live, is the great work for the welfare of mankind; do that work fearlessly, in the love of your fellow men and in the fear of God, and the Union will survive you and me and your posterity for a thousand years. [Applause.]

GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

SPEECH AT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS,

September 28, 1860.

Mr. SEWARD returned from Lawrence to Leavenworth on Thursday, hoping to escape any further attention in the latter town, but he was not so fortunate. The Wide Awakes mustered in considerable numbers, and with music, transparencies and flaming torches, marched to the Planters' Hotel, where there was already a large crowd assembled. Mr. Seward could not resist the demand made upon him, and so he, though unwillingly, left his room, walked down to the parlor and stepping through the open window presented himself, all unattended, on the stand which had been constructed in front of the building. His appearance was greeted with enthusiastic cheers, and he found himself, like Mr. Douglas, "betrayed" into making a speech.

He indulged in anticipation of the time when on this broad continent there was to be no other power than that of the United States, and descanted on the importance of their position midway between the two oceans. One or more great States, he said, must rise here in the valley of the Mississippi. It might have been, and would have been, if her people had been as wise as you are, that State which lies opposite you on the Missouri river. I do not know that the State of Missouri will not yet be that great State, for there is a hope, there is assurance, that Missouri will ultimately, taught by the instruction you are giving her and the example you are setting her, be a free State. She has soil as fertile, skies as genial, as those with which God has blessed any portion of the earth. That State will ultimately be one of the greatest, most respected, most prosperous, most honored States in this American Union.

Still he treated of the fundamental conditions of a State and of a republic, which conditions are simply these: securing to every man equal and exact justice, and the fullest opportunity for the improvement of his own condition and the elevation of his own character by the laws and customs that we establish. In this respect you are ahead of Missouri, ahead of Nebraska, ahead of Iowa, and ahead of every State in the American Union, by reason of the great injustice suffered, the great wrongs endured, and the great resolution and courage with which you have overcome them all. Freedom in the Terri-

ories of the United States is to all the rest of the world a mere abstraction. But it has been your misfortune that your Territory was made the theatre of a conflict, the theatre of the trial of that "irrepressible conflict"—[laughter and cheers]—a conflict of mind with mind, voice with voice, vote with vote, of bullet against bullet, and of cannon against cannon. [Loud and tumultuous cheering.] You have acquired the education of freedom by practical experience. You have the start of all the other States. If there is a people in any part of the world I ought to cherish with enduring respect, with the warmest gratitude and with the deepest interest, assuredly it is the people of Kansas; for, but for the practical trial they have given to the system which I had adopted, but for the vindication at so much risk and so much cost of their highest rights under the law, I, for one, would have gone to my grave a disappointed man, a false teacher in the estimation of the American people. [Applause.] Yours is the thirty-first of thirty-four States of the Union which I have visited for the purpose of knowing their soil, their skies and their people. I have visited, in the course of my lifetime, more than three-fourths of the civilized nations of the world; and of all the States and nations which I have seen, that people which I hold to be the wisest, the worthiest and the best, is the people of this little State. [Applause.] The reason of it is the old proverb that "Handsome is that handsome does." If other nations have higher education, greater refinement, and have cultivated the virtues and refinements of civilized life more than you have, I have yet to see the nation or the people that has been able, in its very inception, in its infancy, in its very organization, to meet the shock of the aristocratic system, through which other nations have been injured or ruined, to repel all attacks, and to come out before the world in the attitude of a people who will not, under any form of persuasion, seduction or intimidation, consent, any one of them, to be a slave, any one of them to make a slave, any one of them to hold a slave, or any foot of their territory to be trod by a slave, or by a man who is not equal to every other man in the eye of the law. [Applause.]

GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

SPEECH AT ATCHISON, KANSAS,

September 28, 1860.

Mr. Seward was warmly welcomed by the citizens and ladies of Atchison, and among others by Mr. Fairchild, the Mayor, himself a democrat, and by General Pomeroy. He was introduced to the assemblage by Mr. Martin, and made a very effective speech. Referring to the apology made by Mr. Martin, for the inadequacy of the reception, he said that they might judge of what he himself thought of it, when he declared to them that his welcome bore all the impress of those that he had seen given in other countries to hereditary despots. Compared with other demonstrations in the Territory, this was unsurpassed. [Atchison was one of the "border ruffian" towns on the Missouri river.—Rep.] He said he had tried to avoid all this demonstration, which only tended to make him misunderstood, for the world might think that in coming to Kansas he came to receive honors, instead of coming to learn what was necessary to enable him to perform his duty to her citizens better than he had heretofore been able to do.

I find, said he, the Territory of Kansas as rich as, if not richer, in its soil and in its evidences of material prosperity, than any State with which I have been acquainted, and I have already visited thirty-one of the thirty-four States of the Union. In climate I know of none that seems to be so desirable. It is now suffering—in its southern and western counties more especially—the privations of want, falling very heavily on its latest settlers, resulting from the absence of rain for a period of ten or twelve months. I go out of the Territory of Kansas with a sadness that hangs over and depresses me—not because I have not found the country far surpassing all my expectations of its improvement and cultivation—not because I have not found here a prosperous and happy people—but because I have found families—some from my own State, some from other States and some from foreign countries—who were induced—and justly and wisely induced—to come to this region within the last year or two, and who, having exhausted all their means and all their resources in establishing homes for themselves, have been disappointed in gaining from their labor provision for the supply of their wants.

I hope that the tales which I have heard are exaggerated, and that families are not actually perishing for want in some of the western counties of Kansas. I have faith in the complete success of your system, and in the prosperity and development of the State of Kansas; I have it for the most obvious reason, that if Kansas is a failure my whole life has been worse than a failure; but if Kansas shall prove a success—as I know it will—then I shall stand redeemed, at least in history, for the interest I have taken in

the establishment of civilization on the banks of the Missouri river upon the principles and policy which you have laid down. I pray you—you who are rich, you who are prosperous—to appoint active and careful men to make researches in the Territory for those who are suffering by this dreadful visitation of Providence; to take care that the emigrant who came in last winter and last spring be not suffered, through disappointment and want, to return to the State whence he came, carrying back a tale of suffering and privation and distress which might retard for years the development of society here. I hope you will not regard this advice of mine as being without warrant. I give it for your own sake—I give it for the sake of the people of Kansas, as we'll as because my sympathies have been moved by the distress I have seen around me.

If this advice shall be taken in good part, then I am free to tell you that in my judgment there is not the least necessity for any person leaving this Territory, notwithstanding the greatness of the calamity that has befallen it. *I have seen whole districts that have produced neither the winter wheat, nor the spring wheat, nor the rye, nor the buckwheat, nor the potatoe, nor the root of any kind;* yet I have seen on all your prairies, upland and bottom land, cattle and horses in great numbers, and all of them in most perfect condition; and I am sure that there is a supply of stock in this Territory which, if disposed of, would produce all that is necessary to relieve every one in the Territory. What is required, therefore, is simply that you should seek out want where it exists, and apply your own surplus means to relieve it. If this should fail, and if you should feel it necessary to apply to your countrymen in the East for aid, I will second that appeal—I and the gentlemen who have been visiting the country with me—and it will not be our fault if we do not send back from the East the material comforts that will cheer and reanimate those who are depressed and suffering. This State, larger than any of the old thirteen States, has not one acre that is unsuceptible of cultivation; not one foot that may not be made productive of the supplies of the wants of human life, comforts and luxuries. The question was propounded to me—not of my seeking—it came before me, because I was in a position where I must meet all questions of this kind—it came some six years ago: Do the interests of human society require that this land of Kansas should be possessed by slaveholders and cultivated with slaves, or possessed and cultivated by free men, every one of whom shall own the land which he cultivates and the muscles with which he tills the earth? When I look back at that period, only six or seven years ago, it

strange to me that any man living on this continent, himself a free man and having children who are free, himself a free laborer and having children who must be free laborers, himself earning his own subsistence and having children who must depend on their own efforts for their support, should be willing to resign a portion of this continent so great, a soil so rich, a climate so genial, to the support of African negroes instead of white men.

Africa was not crowded for Kansas. Africa has never sent to this country one voluntary exile or emigrant, and never will. The sons of Africa have lands which for them are more productive, have habits more congenial and skies better tempered than yours are. I have supposed it far better, therefore, to leave the people of Africa where God planted them, on their native shores. But the case was different with men of my own race—the white men, the blue-eyed men, the yellow-haired men of England, of Ireland, of Scotland, of France, of Germany, of Italy. Ever since this continent was discovered oppression in every form has been driving them from those lands to seek homes for their subsistence and support on this continent. There is no difference between us all except this: that my father was driven out of Europe by want and privation some hundred years ago, and others come hundred years later, and some have just come, and tens of thousands, aye, millions, have yet to come. We are all exiles directly, or represent those who were exiles—all exiles made by oppression, superstition and tyranny in Europe. We are of one family, race and kindred, all here in the pursuit of happiness—all seeking to improve our condition—all seeking to elevate our character. My sympathies have gone with this class of men. My efforts have been, as they must always be, to lay open before them the vast regions of this continent, to the end that we may establish here a higher, a better, and a happier civilization than that from which ourselves and our ancestors were exiled in foreign lands.

—This land should not only be a land of free-

dom, a land of knowledge and religion, but it should be, above all, a land which, as yet cannot be said with truth of any part of Europe or any other part of the world, a land of civil liberty—and a land can only be made a land of liberty by adopting the principle which has never yet obtained in Europe, and which is only to be attained by learning it from ourselves—that is, that every human being, being necessarily born the subject of a government, is a member of the State, and has a natural right to be a member of the State, and that, in the language of the Declaration of Independence, all men are born equal and have inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Some of the States were not established on this principle. They were established a long time ago, and under circumstances which prevented the adoption of this principle. For those States, members of our Union who have been unable or even unwilling to adopt this principle, I have only to say that I leave them free to enjoy whatever of happiness, and to attain whatever of prosperity, they can enjoy and attain with their system. But when I am called upon to establish a government for a new State, then I demand the application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence—[applause]—that every man ought to be and should be a free man. Society can have but two forms by which the individual can defend himself from oppression. One is that which puts the musket into his hand and tells him as the last resort to defend himself and his liberty. The other is that which puts into his hand the ballot, and tells him in every exigency to defend his rights with the ballot. I do maintain that in founding a new State we have the perfect liberty as well as the perfect right to establish a government which shall secure every man in his rights; or rather, I do say that you must put into every man's hand—not into the hands of one—the ballot; or put into every man's hand, and not into the hands of a few, the ballot, so that every man shall be equal before the law in his power as a citizen. All men shall have the ballot, or none; all men shall have the bullet, or none. [Applause.]

GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

SPEECH AT CLEVELAND, OHIO,

OCTOBER 4, 1860.

Gov. SEWARD being introduced was received with rousing cheers. He spoke as follows:

Several Republican citizens, of more eastern States than this, including myself, have been making a tour of observation in the West. We have found every reason to believe, and trust confidently, that Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Minnesota, are safe for the Republican cause in the coming election.

[Cheers.] We also know of no Eastern Free State that is doubtful. I am reported, as I find, to have said at Springfield that I have been urged from home to go back to the State of New York: This is erroneous. What I did say was, that some ill-informed Republicans in the West had been alarmed by the reports of coalitions formed, or attempted to be formed, by the opposition in that State, and asked me whether I

thought it was necessary to go home and look after my own State. I say now, as I said then, that I should go home when I found any reason to believe that the Republican majority was in any danger of being reduced below 60,000. I have had no advices of that kind, and no communications from the State of New York during this journey except from a respectable lady residing at Auburn, who confines herself to taking charge of her children and mine, and leaves politics to take care of themselves.

We have visited Kansas, and I ask your leave to bring the condition of that Territory before you, for your careful and kind consideration. The soil and the skies of Kansas are as propitious as any people on earth ever enjoyed—the people as free, as true and as brave as any in the world. They are suffering severely from a drought so great that I think it was scarcely exaggerated when they told me they had had no rain in a large portion of the Territory for a whole year. We found that whole districts had produced less vegetable support for human life than are to be found in many a garden which we have passed in coming through the State of Ohio. Districts in which the winter wheat, sowed last year, was necessarily plowed up and sowed in the spring with spring wheat. The spring wheat was plowed up and the ground planted with corn. The corn proved a failure and was followed with potatoes. The potatoes were blasted, and followed by buckwheat, which also proved a failure. I think that this is a true description of the condition of tillage of perhaps two-thirds of Kansas. Still, there will be no great famine or distress there. The occupants who have been there for two, three, four or five years are comfortable and well-to-do, as appears abundantly from their stock, their fences, their dwelling houses—framed of wood, and very often substantially and well built of brick and stone. Large portions of the State are as populous, and exhibit all the signs of comfort and thrift, equal to what are found even in Ohio. But there are emigrants who have resided there for only a year whose whole means have been expended in procuring farms and shelter, and planting their crops, which have successively failed. Many of these are leaving the Territory—some say so many as one hundred a day. They ought to be relieved, and a very little assistance would enable them to remain there and retain their possessions and improvements, and resume the culture of their fields, under more favorable auspices, next spring. With much diffidence, I beg to commend this subject to the citizens of Ohio. Perhaps a larger portion of the Republicans of Kansas are emigrants from Ohio than from any other State. Do not forget that Kansas is the most important outpost of the Republican army; that it is yet, on paper at least, in a state of siege; though the enemy has been driven out, a treaty of peace and independence has not yet been signed.

Fellow citizens, I am unable to make you what is called a speech, for I have left my voice at Chicago; but I will say something, in order, if possible, to not altogether disappoint any expectations which you may entertain. You have come together, not for amusement, or to gratify passion or prejudice. Each of you, as a citizen of the United States, is invested with a portion of sovereignty over the greatest and most important nation of the world. Time is divided into

past, present and the future, but there is in truth no present. Each one of us, therefore, lives in and for the past, or for the future. The worst use of time that could be made is to employ it in concerns of the past. The past ought to have taken care of itself; if it has not we can do nothing to change it. The future, only, is subject in any degree to our control and direction. The past was the time of tradition; the Revolution of '76, the Republican Revolution of 1800, the war of 1812, the Tariff controversy, the question of the Bank of the United States, have passed away, with the generations which discussed or acted in them. A man may have his opinion upon one or other of those subjects, but it leads to no practical conclusion now. Action for the future concerns freedom or slavery within the territories of the United States, and to discharge our responsibilities well and wisely, we must bury our traditions, emancipate ourselves and become free, enlightened and intelligent men. The Past was for the East—the Future is for the West. Empire has culminated in the East, and is now passing to the West. The Past was for Slavery, which at one time was practically universal in the East. The Future is Freedom, which, in the order of Providence, is to be universal in the West.

The change from past Eastern Slavery to future Western Freedom is to be effected simply by bringing the mind of the nation to a just apprehension of what slavery is. Our Fathers in the East understood it to be a question simply of trade. In their view, while they allowed the practice of slavery, they held a slave to be a subject of commerce. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, announced on the other hand, that slavery is a question of human rights. While they left the regulation of that subject within the States themselves, they did establish the principle that in the common Territories of the United States and within the sphere of Federal action, every man is a person, a man, a free man, who could neither hold another in slavery nor be held in bondage by any other man. The past (since the adoption of the Constitution) has been occupied with trials to compromise this conflict between property in man and the freedom of man, and these trials have proved unsuccessful. The future demands the settlement of it now by a return to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. This conclusion can be reached only by accepting the principle of the political equality of men within the exclusive range of the Federal Constitution. This is simply a matter of education. It is not worth while to spend much time upon this subject in trying to convert old men; they cannot last long, and therefore can do little harm. We all become settled in our opinions and confirmed in our habits as we grow old. The Republican party is a party chiefly of the young men. Each successive year brings into its ranks an increasing proportion of the young men of this country.

This is the ground of my hope, of my confidence, that before this generation shall have passed away, the Democratic party will cease to exist; and the Republican party, or at least its principles, will be accepted and universally prevail. If it be true, as the Declaration of Independence asserts, that the right of all men to

political equality is self-evident, nothing can prevent the acknowledgment of that fact by the generation now rising, since that truth is distinctly inculcated now for the first time through all the agencies of private and public education. The young man who shall reject it will find himself in controversy with the ever-growing sentiment of his countrymen, and the settled public opinion of the world. Let him take heed how

he enters upon a course which can bring nothing but unavailing contention, disappointment and regret over the failure of his ambition and of his desire for usefulness. Train up your children in the belief of this great principle of our Constitution, and they will secure for themselves the satisfaction of leading useful and honorable lives, and follow you to your graves with more than even filial veneration.

GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

SPEECH AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK,

OCTOBER 5, 1860.

FELLOW CITIZENS—I understand this demonstration. It is only kindness that makes it turbulent. But in order that you may hear a voice which has been exercised for five weeks, it will be necessary for you to hold your tongues and open your ears. I am now within a hundred and fifty miles of my home, and I remember that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country." So am I not going to prophesy so near my own place of residence. I thank you sincerely for this welcome of myself and of the party with whom I have been traveling in the far West.

I have seen, within a year, all the principal people who inhabit the shores of the Mediterranean; and within the last five weeks have journeyed among the population dwelling along the Mediterranean of America. I have seen those decayed and desolate countries—the sites of the greatest nations of antiquity—now covered with ruins and some in a state almost of semi-barbarism. The chief cause of that decay and desolation I believe to have been the existence in those countries of human bondage.

The one great evil which could bring down our country to such a level, would be the introduction of Slavery to the lands surrounding the Mediterranean of America. Therefore it is that I have devoted what little talent I possess to prevent the ban of Slavery from falling upon the fertile valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri.

Having seen many States, I come back to New York, prouder of her, and prouder that I belong to her, than I was when I left. I estimate her so highly, not alone for what she is or has, at home, but also for what she is and has in the Great West. While I see around me here, so many generous and noble men endeavoring to maintain her in her proud position, I have also found, all along the shores of the great lakes, along the banks of the great rivers, and even at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, children of the State of New York, almost as numerous as at home. Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois and Kansas, are all daughters of New York, so is California, and more

States have been formed under her auspices, then there were at the beginning of the Union. Emigrants from Erie county, from Chautauqua, from Cattaraugus, from Oswego, and from all the counties of this great State, people the West. It was a son of New York who first applied steam to locomotion; a citizen of New York, and also its chief magistrate, who began and perfected the Erie Canal, and over that canal the stream of emigration has flowed which has founded new States. It has carried, sometimes, in a day the people of a western town, a county in a few weeks, and a State in two or three years. New York has built the West.

But I am, perhaps, speaking in too general terms. Doubtless the spirit which animates you at present, is roused in regard to the coming election. It will gladden you when I say in relation to the state of the West, and I have had assurances there which leave no doubt that it will give its vote for Lincoln. I have seen him at his own home, and I have now to say, as I said before I went West, that he is a man eminently worthy of the support of every honest voter, and well qualified to discharge the duties of the Chief Magistracy. Above all, he is *reliable*; and I repeat at the foot of Lake Erie, what I said at the head of it; that if it had fallen to me to name a man to be elected as next President of the United States, I would have chosen Abraham Lincoln.

I have promised out West that the State of New York will give him 60,000 majority in November. Am I right in this? [A voice, "double it!"] Then you are to multiply that by two, are you? Well, that is no more than you ought to do, and if you keep "wide awake" it is no more than you can do.

Now, my friends, I am deliberating on this estimate of yours, and I wish to know what you have to say for Erie county. What majority will Erie county give? [Divers answers were made to this query; "5,000" seemed to be the prevalent figure; others said, 2,500 out of the city of Buffalo.] Mr. Seward: Aye, you count majorities in the rural districts. That is right and safe too.

It is very fortunate that whatever may be the way with the population on the sidewalks, the rural districts are safe for freedom. Why, gentlemen, you couldn't take any man three months from Main street, out into the free open country, without converting him from Democracy and making him so that he would never think of voting for a Democratic candidate, or a two-faced candidate, or a candidate with half a dozen principles. Well! we'll see what we can do with the cities this time. When the cities begin to find out that they are not going to rule the country, they will conclude, perhaps, that it is better that the country should rule them.

It is very strange that Irishmen and Germans and Swedes, so long as they remain on the side-

walks, should wish to be ruled by men in the interest of the slave power. [Cries, "It is not so here."] But you say, it is not so here. I have been West and have seen foreigners there also who did not wish to be ruled by slaveholders.

But I have already talked more than I had intended, and must stop. [A voice, "What about Kansas?"] You wish to hear about Kansas? I will tell you. What is the population of Buffalo? [A voice, "81,000."] Well, whenever the city of Buffalo shall have come to be inhabited by 100,000, or 103,000—which is just the population of Kansas—as virtuous, as wise, as brave, as fearless as the 103,000 of Kansas, there will be an end of the "irrepressible conflict." Good night.

GOVERNOR SEWARD'S

SPEECH AT LAWRENCE, KANSAS, SEPTEMBER 26, 1860.

FELLOW CITIZENS—A long cherished desire of mine is fulfilled; at last, a long deferred duty is about to be paid—the desire of my heart to see the people of Kansas—the duty that I felt I owed to the people of Kansas, to see them in their own homes and in their own houses. I have visited your chief cities Leavenworth and Lawrence—where the army of mercenaries sent by the Slave States battered down the hotel, under an indictment and conviction in a court of the United States as a nuisance, because it sheltered the freemen who had come here to see Freedom established in Kansas. And I have looked, also, upon the Constitution Hall, in Topeka, where the army of the United States, for the first time in the history of our nation, dispersed a lawful and peaceable assembly of citizens of the United States, convened to counsel upon the best means of protecting their lives, their property and sacred honor. You, people of Kansas, whom I have not been able to see in your homes, have come up here to greet me, from the valleys of the Kansas, the Big Blue, and the Neosho, and from all your plains and valleys.

I seem not to have journeyed hither, but to have floated across the sea,—the prairie sea,—under bright autumnal skies, wafted by genial breezes into the heavens where I wished to be. I am not sorry that my visit has occurred at this particular time, so sad in its influence, when nature, that sends its rains upon the unjust as well as the just, has for a year withdrawn its genial showers from the soil of Kansas. It is well to see one's friends in darkness and sadness, as well as in the hour of joy.

I have beheld the scenes of your former conflicts. I have also looked upon that beautiful

eminence on the banks of the Kansas river, where Lecompton sits a lonely widow, [cheers and laughter,] desolate and mourning, her ambitious structures showing how high is the ambition of Slavery, and their desolation showing how easy, after all, is her downfall. I would have seen more of Kansas, if I had not been interrupted and impeded in my course through the State by the hospitality and kindness of the people, which I could not turn aside. I have been excessively retentive at Leavenworth and Topeka, refusing to open my lips, unless my jaws were pried open, because I do not like to say things by piecemeal.

I desire to speak openly to you, in the broad daylight, in the hearing of the women as well as men of Kansas; and here, where I have renewed the memories of the contest waged upon this soil, while I see around me the broken implements with which that contest was waged by the aggressors under the plea of popular sovereignty, which left the people perfectly free to do just as they please, subject to the Constitution of the United States, which they were left perfectly free to interpret as they pleased, while the authorities at Washington have never been able to interpret it.

When I look at field after field, and cabin after cabin, and church after church, and school house after school house, where but six years ago was the unbroken range of savages, I am prepared here—not expecting to escape being heard on the Pacific as well as the Atlantic coast—I am prepared to declare, and do declare you people of Kansas, the most intelligent, and the bravest and most virtuous people of the United States. [Applause.] That is the most intelligent, and

bravest and most virtuous people, which can take the banner of Human Freedom when it is trailed in the dust by the government of its choice, and can and does raise it aloft and protect it, and bear it to success and honor—and that without bloodshed and violence.

People of Kansas! you are at once the youngest, the newest people—the newest State, as well as the youngest of all the thirty-four American States; you are the poorest in wealth, the least favored with political power, for you are nearly disfranchised—and yet you are the most inflexible, and the most constant. The two richest States in the Union are Massachusetts and New York, but they are so merely because they are the freest, the wisest, and the most liberty-loving States of the Union. I apprehend that you scarcely understand yourselves the importance of the position which you hold in this Republic. You will perhaps be surprised, when I tell you that the secret of all the interest I have felt in you has been merely this: that you occupy a pivotal position in the Republic of the United States, with regard to Slavery and Freedom. There is no contest, no difference on this subject, along the line of the Northeastern States, for they are hostile to Slavery. There is no difference on the line of the Southern States, for they are in favor of Slavery. But there has been a severe strife between Freedom and Slavery, for the establishment of Freedom or Slavery, in all the wide region reaching from the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. If Freedom was to triumph in this contest, there was no point where she could expect to meet the enemy, except on the very place she has met it—here. And if you had been false, Slavery would have swept along through the Indian Territory, Texas, and the whole of the country, including the Rocky Mountains, to the Pacific Ocean.

California was imperfectly secured to Freedom, and with a compromise. You opened a new campaign here, to reclaim what was given up in that already broken compromise, and it has been crowned with a complete victory. Henceforth, the battle is ended; henceforth, the emigrant from the Eastern States, from Germany and Ireland, the free laborer, in short, from every land on the earth, when he reaches the Missouri river, will enter on a broad land of impartial liberty.

He can safely pursue his way under the banner of Freedom to the foot of the Rocky Mountains; and there the hosts of freemen from the western coast will unite and join under the same banner, extending North and South. Everywhere, except in Missouri, is a land of Freedom. Missouri stands an island of Slavery in the midst of a broad ocean of Liberty. You occupy not only the pivotal position, but it was your fortune to attempt this great enterprise in behalf of Freedom at a critical period for mankind. Slavery was then just 200 years old, in the United States. In the year 1776, our fathers gave battle to Slavery; they declared war against it, and pledged their lives and sacred honor, in the service against it. Practically, it was to be destroyed peaceably, under the Constitution of the United States. Those good men believed it would reach its end long before this period; but the people became demoralized. The war went back, back, back, until 1854—until all guarantees of Freedom, in every part of the United States

were abandoned, and Kansas, that had for forty years been perfectly free from the footsteps of the slave, was pronounced by the highest power of the Government as much a Slave State as South Carolina. The flag of the United States was made the harbinger, not of Freedom, but of Human Bondage.

It was at this crisis that the people of Kansas appeared on the stage, reviled and despised, and lifted the banner of Liberty on high, and bore it manfully forward, defied all force, and yet counteracted peaceably all the efforts made to subdue them. In three years they not only secured Freedom in Kansas, but in all the Territory of the United States.

Freedom made Kansas as free as Massachusetts, and made the Federal Government, on and after the 4th of March next, the patron of Freedom—what it was at the beginning. You have made Freedom national, and Slavery sectional. Had you receded after your first conditional or provisional Government was dispersed at Topeka, by cannon and bayonet; had you surrendered and accepted the Leecompton Constitution; had you even abandoned the Wyandott Constitution, at any stage of the battle, it would have destroyed the cause of Freedom, not only in Kansas, but also throughout the whole Union.

I know I shall be justified in history; shall I not be justified by contemporaries? Wise, best, bravest of citizens; no other hundred thousand people in the United States have contributed as much for the cause of Freedom, as Kansas. Before this people, then, appearing for the first time, I bow myself, as I have never done before to any other people, in profound reverence. [Sensation.] I salute you with gratitude and affection.

Fellow citizens, my time here, as well as yours, is brief. It is but few of many subjects upon which we can even touch. As to the least important subject of all, myself, I give you, in one word, my sincere and heartfelt thanks. I had formed my opinion of you from your past conduct and history. I have not been disappointed in your kindness. For all that remains to me, give yourselves no trouble. Freedom is saved and assured to California and Kansas, and therefore assured to the future states in the Rocky Mountains. If I may, indeed, hope that my poor name will find a place in the history of California and Kansas, then all the ambition I have ever cherished is more than abundantly satisfied.

The second consideration to which I would advert for a moment, is this sadness which lies like a pall over a large part of the Territory of Kansas—the result of the withdrawal of the rain for a period so long as to excite apprehensions of a famine.

I have carefully examined the condition of Kansas—the river bottoms and the prairies, and my conclusion is—not more from the condition of the crops, than from the character of the people—that there will be no famine in Kansas, because there is wealth and credit enough in Kansas to carry you through more than one year like this. You will take care of this credit, and retain it, so far as possible. If this will not do, then appeal to your friends in the East, and they will not see you suffer. I myself will do what I can for you. Be of good cheer. Suffer yourselves not to be discouraged. There are cattle

enough on your thousand hills, if sold—although it is a fearful sacrifice—to carry you through and sustain you during the winter, and still come out in the spring with milch cows and working oxen. And we who are here—coming from States whence emigration flows, and from the Atlantic States, where emigration is received and sent onward—will all do our share to direct emigration to Kansas, assuring them from our own observation that it is a climate as salubrious as any in the world, and a soil as rich as any the sun ever shone upon. This is a smiling and fair dominion, and we think, were we set back twenty or thirty years, the place of all others that we would seek in the United States would be the plains of Kansas. [Applause.]

One other consideration. When we see before us the transactions of this day, do they not illustrate the subject of the "irrepressible conflict?" [Cheers and laughter.] Did not our forefathers, in 1787, settle this whole question, and, by an ordinance, put at rest forever the question of Freedom and Slavery in the United States? Certainly they did. Did they not, in 1820, settle this conflict forever? Did they not declare that all north of 36 deg. 30 lat., and west of the Missouri river should be given up to Freedom? Certainly they did. Was it not settled finally a third time in 1850, when Kansas and Nebraska were still saved to Freedom, and all lying west of them? Was it not settled a fourth time in 1854, when it was ordained that the people of Kansas were free to choose Freedom or Slavery for themselves, subject to the Constitution of the United States? Was it not settled for the fifth time, when the Lecompton Constitution was adopted by one scratch of the pen of the President of the United States and the Supreme Court—and this became a land of Slave-ry?

A VOICE: We did not take that government.

MR. SEWARD: You didn't take it—that is just what I was going to say.

Why was not Slavery settled by all these settlements? For no other reason than because the conflict was irrepressible. But you determined, in your struggle for Kansas, that she shall be forever free; and that settles the question.

A VOICE: It is not settled yet. There's New Mexico.

MR. SEWARD: My friend tells me it is not settled yet, but it is settled in Kansas and for Kansas. In New Mexico they tried to settle it in favor of Slavery, but they now find out it is irrepressible there. I think you will find that the whole battle was settled to the deliverance of Kansas, and that henceforth Freedom will be triumphant in all the Territories of the United States.

And yet, while this is clear to these intelligent, practical and sensible men who have gone through the problem, what a contrast is seen here to what is occurring in other parts of the United States, where they suppose, because they are older, they are so much wiser; where they believe me still as false a prophet as Mohammed. In Pennsylvania they have not yet made up their minds that there is any conflict at all, much less that it is irrepressible. In the Southern States they are actually organising a militia against the freemen who are establishing Freedom in Kansas and New Mexico, as if the settlers in Kansas were no wiser than they are, and would seek to

propagate Freedom by the sword. When freemen want to make a Territory free, they give it ballot boxes, and schoolhouses and churches; and Slavery will never triumph where these are first established.

But to go a little deeper into the subject. In 1776 and 1787, there were wise men administering the Government of the United States; and if you look into their sayings, you will see they had all found out that this Republic was to be the home of an ever-increasing people, so free, so proud, so wise, so vigorous, that they could not be confined in the old thirteen States; they saw that this Republic was to be the home of free men, of free labor, and not slave labor. So, they set apart all the Territory within their reach, *i. e.*, all they then had control over—for Freedom and for free emigration. Now, contrast that which was wisely done in 1787 with what actually happened in 1850! In 1820 it was found that the population of the United States had crossed the Mississippi. Then what was necessary was, to provide exactly the same kind of government for the Territory west of the Mississippi, as had been provided for the country east of it; so that, when the government should be extended to the Pacific, all should be free. Could anything have been wiser than for Government in 1850 to have given Freedom to these Territories? But it did not. They had previously given Missouri to Slavery, and said Freedom might take the rest; but now they wished to block up free labor by the barrier of slave Missouri. Could anything have been more absurd than to thus attempt to stay the course of freemen? Either free labor must go out of the United States, or it must go round Missouri to Kansas and New Mexico. It did go round for a short season, but then it broke their barriers, and passed through the very garrison of the slave power.

There were long ago good and brave men who foretold this result. There was John Quincy Adams, who remonstrated against the extension of Slavery as political suicide.

There were Henry W. Taylor, James Tallmadge, and peerless among them all, Rufus King, who declared in the Senate of the United States, that the Slave Power in Missouri would prove a mockery; that this land was for liberty; and that the Slave Power would repent in sackcloth and ashes. But these good men were overruled. Missouri and Arkansas came into the Union with Slavery. And for what reason? It was because the slaveholders had property—capital which must not be confiscated, even to prevent Slavery from being established over as large a domain as half of Europe. This was the reason the Federal Government determined to secure their slaves to the capitalists of Missouri. What capital had Missouri in slaves that was saved at that time? All the slaves in Missouri at that time, were exactly 10,220 in number—and I was born a slaveholder, and know something of the value of slaves, at that time three hundred dollars a head, including the old and young, the sick and decrepid, which made the total value of the slaves in Missouri, in 1820, \$3,066,000. Arkansas then had 1,600 slaves, worth \$480,000. The whole capital of slaves in Missouri and Arkansas was about \$3,500,000, but to save that capital in negroes, the great compromise of 1850 was made, and Kansas

given up to Slavery. Three million five hundred thousand dollars was a large sum, but nobody then or ever proposed to confiscate it. They were left free to sell their slaves; they were at liberty to keep them, so only that they should import no more. There was no need of confiscating the slaves in Missouri any more than there was in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, so this \$3,500,000 was never in jeopardy.

Now then, fellow citizens, even if it had been confiscated, how small a sacrifice of property it was, weighed against the incalculable blessing of Freedom over the American continent. Look now at the advantages of their success, and see how unavailing are the contrivances of politicians, and even of nations, to counteract and control the great moving principle of the age. Who would have thought, and who now, of the wisest men in the Slave States and many from the other States, can believe that by making Missouri a Slave State in 1820, forty years afterwards, when the canals of New York and Pennsylvania were burdened with commerce, when steamers dotted all our inland lakes and rivers, when teachers and preachers were abroad through the land, that they could make a Slave State out of Kansas? They tried it, and what have they got? They have got Slavery in Missouri and Arkansas; Freedom in Kansas, and practically in New Mexico, in Utah and California. That is what comes from attempting to bind up the decrees of Providence in flaxen bands by human skill. [Applause.] Why did their attempt fail? It failed because society has its rights and its necessities. It was just as necessary that men should move out of Massachusetts and New York and the Western States, and Missouri even, into the Territories, as it is necessary that Kansas and other Territories should receive them when they have come. It was just as necessary that the exile of Europe should have a place where he was perfectly free to have no slaves. The movement of the age is quickened by the agency of mind and of inventions; all the operations of trade, the arts and manufactures, are accelerated by mechanical skill. Who thinks now of drawing himself to town with a pair of mules? The steam engine carries him there with less cost than he could walk or go on wagons. All the implements with which work and husbandry are done, are the product of mechanical skill. Every farmer sees that by the improvements made in the implements for cultivating the soil, every year he is able to dispense with the services of one more laborer, who becomes himself an independent farmer.

Europe has been in a state of commotion for more than sixty years, and still is. Ireland was bound to seek relief; Germany was overpopulated, and must have an outlet for her energy and labor. What madness and folly, then, that the statesmen of 1820 should open this country to Slavery, and instead of securing it teeming with wealth and abundant cultivation, have it abandoned to the product of negroes at \$1,500 a head! [Laughter.] It is because I speak so plainly of these things that some believe me not a very conservative man.

I think you are wiser than your fathers, wherever you may have come from. I had a father who was a very wise man, but I think I should be unworthy of him, had I not sought to improve

my better opportunities to become a wiser man than he. It would have been much better for Missouri and Arkansas could they have foreseen the consequence of their action. The consequence of their embracing Slavery is that the tide of emigration in 1820, which would naturally have come up the Mississippi river was driven round into other regions. Instead of entering at New Orleans, it sought the ports of New York and Quebec, peopled the Provinces of Canada and the line of the Northern Lakes. There are three millions of settlers in the Provinces which Slavery in Missouri sent round there. This same tide of emigration peopled Northern Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan, and thence passed west to Iowa, Nebraska and Kansas. Missouri has thus lost from her soil all this population. At last the mass of emigration got to be so dense that it could not divide and spread itself, so making a great rush, it swept through Missouri, through the very strongholds of Slavery. There is not within the longitude of my voice probably one man, if Missouri had been wise, and had not driven emigration from its natural course, that would ever have set foot on the soil of Kansas. There is population enough in Kansas now to make Missouri a great State. But Missouri does not want to be a great State. She prefers to wait and be a Slave State. [Laughter.] She has no affection for the people of the North, but a great affection for the people of the South. She has no affection for free labor, but a great affection for slave labor. She has no free speech; she is satisfied to have what she may say, or may not, controlled by the Slave Power. This is a sad case for Missouri, but not hopeless. She must look for deliverance to Kansas, which Missouri at first overrun and subjugated, and which Missouri refused to let come into the Union, but which is drawing emigration through Missouri, and opening the way, and marking out the very course, and inviting Missouri on, and calling upon Eastern capitalists to open a national highway to Pike's Peak and California. Missouri to-day is richer by millions on millions by the settlement of Kansas by free men. All her hopes of competition with the free Northern States are based upon what you are doing, and can do, and will do, to make a Pacific railroad through to the Pacific ocean.

Never was policy of any State more suicidal; for either she is to be forever a slave State, as she desires to be, or she had better have been free from the beginning. If she is a Slave State, she must be a planting State merely, and the value of her land would be nearly worthless—for on an average the value of land in a free State is exactly three-fold the value of land in a slave State. Then, if Missouri wants to be a Slave State, the wisest thing she can do is to do on the west what she has done on the east—i. e., to consent to be surrounded with free, prosperous States.

These free States which you are building in Kansas and Nebraska, are showing and opening the true national highway to the Pacific Ocean. You are producing around Missouri the influences which they dread, and call abolitionising. I don't know any way in which such an operation can be done with so much quietness, as to go round her, and leave her to abolish herself. She will do it, too, because Missouri has got capital, and she will find out that if she is a slave State and Kansas free, Kansas, in twenty years,

will send more members to Congress than Missouri—and people, though slaveholders don't like to give up political power.

Another lesson which this occasion teaches us, is instructive in an eminent degree. When Missouri, in 1820, compelled Congress to admit her as a slave State, and in 1854 to abrogate the Missouri Compromise, and in 1856 drove all freemen from Kansas, in order to have Slavery in Kansas, she did not see how futile would be her efforts. Missouri obtained these concessions for Slavery from the General Government, not because the people of the United States love Slavery, but because they love the Union.

But all the efforts of the slave power were defeated by bands of emigrants from New England, from New York and other Eastern States, from Germany and Ireland—who came up the Missouri river, fearless of cannons, and found the slaveholders here armed; and they drove them out of the Territory, and established what is called an "Abolition" Territory—making it a place for connection by the "Underground Railroad" with every State. Who would have believed that this could have been done, and that we should have met here to-day to celebrate it with all kinds of demonstrations—by the firing of cannon, by dinners and balls—and the Union be just as safe now as it was before? [Cheers.]

Another consideration. It is not our choice, fellow citizens, that our lot as a people is cast upon a continent, and that we are so constituted that in spite of ourselves we must become, sooner or later, the possessors of the whole continent of North America, from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast. France and Spain and Great Britain, who formerly occupied vast possessions on this continent, have been gradually giving way, retiring. Every year they are weaker, and it is only a question of fifty or one hundred years, before we shall be masters of the American Confederacy or Republic, over all this.

Now, a government which is to be extended over a continent needs wealth; it needs riches. A great government needs wealth in proportion to its extent; its people must have wealth as an element of their happiness and prosperity. It is utterly contemptible and ridiculous to say, that the continent of North America, instead of being peopled by free men, who are willing to take it at forty acres apiece and enrich it,—instead of this, to turn off all these free laborers, and get slaves from Africa at two hundred dollars a head. What wealth have they in the Slave States? I much mistake if the people of Kansas would, ten years hence, exchange their wealth for that of the Old Dominion—slaves included.

Great nations require something more than

wealth; they need intelligence, vigor and energy among the people. You are to-day planted here, where, if, as they apprehend, the slaves become discontented, and the people of the slave States are to be protected, you are the very men upon whom they must rely for that protection; you are the men to defend them; you must also raise the means to defend the national flag upon every sea, and over all this continent. Give men freedom; then every freeman will give you a return—an equivalent for it; deny them that, and every man becomes an alien, an enemy, under the Government. You remember how feeble and defenceless we Free State men were ten years ago: you see now that we are established in Kansas—upon the Pacific ocean in the centre of the continent, and we might almost say that—

"We are monarchs of all we survey."

This success, this power, has been obtained—how? It has been obtained amid reproach, invective, against force, fraud, and the power of the Federal Government. This success will soon be made still more apparent by the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency. [Cheers.] And this victory has been built upon nothing except those smooth, round pebbles with which we laid the foundations—and the storms of earth and hell shall not prevail against it.

It reminds me of that beautiful island of Capri, on which the rocks are piled in native deformity, but in native strength, upon whose summits I found the ruins of the palaces of Domitian and Nero. Yet when I entered a cavern on the shore, I found that the whole Island rested on a foundation of coral.

These are the considerations which present themselves to me on coming among you. I have kept nothing back. Henceforth, if my confidence in the stability of the American Union wavers, I shall come here to learn that the Union is stronger than human ambition, because it is founded in the affection of the American people. If ever I shall waver in my affection for Freedom, I shall come up here and renew it—here under the inspiration of one hundred thousand freemen, saved from Slavery. Henceforth, these shall not be my sentiments alone, but the sentiments of ALL. Men will come up to Kansas as they go up to Jerusalem. This shall be a sacred city.

For my brethren and companions' sake, then, I say—Peace be within your walls, and plenteousness in all your cabins, soon to become palaces. And now, people of Kansas, once more HAIL! and at the same time, Farewell.

[Three most enthusiastic cheers were then given by all the assembled multitude for Gov. Seward.]

NOTE.—The foregoing speeches are copied from the newspapers, as hastily reported, without revision.